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Bonn-Peking recognition benefits both sides

Twenty-three years after the founding of both this country and People's China Bonn and Peking have established diplomatic relations. A joint communiqué to this effect was signed in Peking on 11 October by Foreign Ministers Walter Scheel and Chi Peng-fei. "A new chapter in relations between the two peoples has commenced," Chinese Deputy Premier Lee Hsien-nien commented. The communiqué on the establishment of diplomatic ties consists of one sentence: "The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany have resolved on 11 October 1972 to establish diplomatic relations with one another and shortly to exchange ambassadors."

Walter Scheel's Free Democrats have been allotted ten minutes' worth of television party-political broadcasts in the forthcoming general election campaign. On 12 October alone the Foreign Minister was on the TV screen for a full ten minutes, though, albeit in Peking and not in this country.

This conveys some idea of the importance attached by the mass media to Herr Scheel's visit to People's China.

Here in Peking Walter Scheel has been accorded a reception that can be termed not only attentive but indeed cordial. He may not have been accorded the highest honour of an audience with Mao Tse-tung but there can be no denying that, as Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei put it, a new leaf has been turned over in relations beetween the two peoples.

Foreign Minister Scheel and the Federal Republic delegation attach overriding importance to the declaration of approval made by Premier Chou En-lai in respect of the proposed application by both German states for membership of the United Nations.

It was evidently not altogether clear whether China, which has come to play a crucial role in the United Nations, might not place obstacles in the way of the dual membership bid.

The UN membership application by both German states must, Bonn feels, be backed up by a Four-Power declaration in which the winners of the Second World War reiterate their joint responsibility for Germany as a whole. In other words, a way is to be left open for a solution to the German Question.

China, however, contends that the Four Powers have no claim to special privileges, and an additional declaration of this kind in the records of the United Nations would powerfully underscore such a claim.

In his talks with Foreign Minister Scheel Premier Chou En-lai stated that he expected the conclusion of intra-German negotiations to be followed by the admission of both states to the UN. This would seem to indicate that People's China really is prepared to shelve its misgivings on this score.

Even so, one wonders whether in fact this was the most significant outcome of the Peking talks. Would China have wanted to stymie international recognition of the GDR merely because it rejects any claim by the Allies to a special position?

Is, for that matter, the mere admission of both this country and the GDR to the United Nations to be considered a feather in Bonn's cap?

One cannot help feeling that the Federal Republic delegation was on the lookout for a success that would make good headline material and sound bright and new.

Nothing of the kind is needed. There are a whole number of points that add up to the conclusion that the visit to Peking has been a success for this country, and not only for this country.

The Chinese have made it quite clear that they are interested in deliveries of capital goods from this country. It would be well worth this country's while to land a contract for a 600-million-Mark rolling mill of the kind that is currently under discussion.

Were China to opt for this country's Pal colour television system the economic prospects would also be promising. By *Western standards TV is not at present* particularly important in People's China but Communist governments are known to attach considerable importance to the mass media.

Quite apart from the commercial prospects the closer economic ties heralded in Peking are of immediate political interest. The Chinese repeatedly made it clear not only to members of the Federal Republic delegation but also to accompanying journalists that they still consider themselves to be a developing country in many sectors.

Peking's overtures to the West, commenced a good year ago, are based on the frankly conceded realisation that China, a gigantic country of over 800 million people, needs the assistance of more developed industrial states if it is to improve the living-conditions of its people to any great extent.

This consideration holds forth the prospect of "development aid" that would represent a contribution towards peaceful coexistence the importance of which can hardly be overestimated.

Bonn has endeavoured to outline its views on coexistence in another context. Walter Scheel explained to his hosts what he feels the point of a European security conference and mutual balanced force reduction in Europe to be, both currently rejected by Peking because, so it feels, the effect will merely be to further the predominance of the United States and the Soviet Union.



During his stay in China Bonn Foreign Minister Walter Scheel, here seen with his wife Mildred, paid a visit to the Great Wall (Photo: dpa)

It remains to be seen whether, as Foreign Minister Scheel now seems to consider possible, the Chinese will take a more positive view of the policy of detente in Europe. Practical proof such as fair economic aid could well play a significant role, though.

Another outcome of the Peking talks must serve as a reminder that the incipient new relationship with People's China need not necessarily be hailed as the be-all and end-all of foreign affairs.

Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei underlined China's view that the division of Germany constitutes an abnormal situation to an extent that GDR observers considered to be the limit of the tolerable.

It would, however, be wrong to infer from this that the People's Republic will soon be a powerful supporter of Bonn's policies.

The Chinese work out to the smallest detail what is in their interest and at present anything that weakens the position of the Soviet Union, including criticism of the division of Germany.

They have also gone to great pains to pay tribute to the accomplishments of Gerhard Schröder, the Opposition spokesman on foreign affairs, who visited Peking not long ago. In view of the forthcoming general election in this country Peking is evidently taking care to hedge its bets.

A country that seeks to look after its own interests need not necessarily put this country at a disadvantage, though. The cooperation that has taken shape as a result of Walter Scheel's visit to Peking will be of benefit to both sides – provided, that is, both sides harbour no illusions. *Hans Werner Kettenbach*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 16 October 1972)

Peking favours a united Germany

KielerNachrichten

The Chinese have stated right out that they are not only in favour of admission to the United Nations of both German states (a point of view likewise espoused by the Soviet Union and the GDR) but also consider this step to be a sine qua non of a peace treaty with or for Germany that would lead to reunification.

Never a word did they waste – and this is what has come as a shock to the Communist capitals of Europe – on specifying that reunification is conceivable only under the red flag.

One may, of course, assume as a matter of course that Chou En-lai was not thinking in terms of German reunification under any other terms, but this need not *necessarily be the case.*

The mere prospect of Peking not being particularly bothered whether Germany is reunited under the hammer and dividers or the black, red and gold flag of "capitalist" Germany evidently accounts for the annoyance to which commentaries on events in Peking in, say, Prague, have borne witness.

It is quite conceivable that Peking is more concerned to safeguard its own national existence than to propagate the "pure" dogma of Marxism-Leninism.

This would mean that China, midway between the Soviet Union and the United States, would welcome a powerful Germany in a still more powerful Europe as a means of striking a balance between or separating the two nuclear great powers.

The most powerful Germany conceivable would, on the other hand, unquestionably be a Germany independent of Moscow. *Hans Otto Lippens*

(Kieler Nachrichten, 16 October 1972)

IN THIS ISSUE

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

China's diplomacy with a smile thwarts Soviet aims in Asia

Ever since Chou En-lai took over undisputed control in Peking raison d'état has tended to replace the revolutionary element in foreign policy.

Until autumn 1970 Lin Piao was considered to be Mao's deputy and designated successor. In those days people's war was the watchword and support for revolutionary movements the prime consideration.

Then Premier Chou launched his full-scale diplomatic offensive – diplomacy with a smile.

Peking has not, mind you, abandoned its struggle of old against the superpowers Russia and America, but here too a remarkable change has come about.

As recently as April 1969 the United States and the Soviet Union were condemned in equal measure as China's enemies, Washington if anything faring slightly worse than Moscow.

At the end of 1970 Peking unmistakeably changed its tune. In its twofold strategy directed against the two superpowers the Soviet Union suddenly emerged as the No. 1 enemy.

Meanwhile, particularly since President Nixon's visit to China in February 1972, it has grown apparent that the Chinese and the Americans have a common interest in containing the Soviet drive to expand in Asia.

This change in relations between China and America is unquestionably the outstanding development in Asia, the foremost aspect being the strategic withdrawal of the United States.

Mr Nixon has realised that the twenty-odd-year-old American policy of isolating and militarily encircling China has been a mistake and that the containment of Communism elsewhere in Asia has been but a partial and indeed dubious success, Communism having been accompanied by tempestuous nationalism.

The evacuation of the Bonin Islands and Okinawa and the reduction of US military presence in Japan and, shortly, South Korea and Taiwan are steps along the road of the American withdrawal.

President Nixon has also agreed to pull out of Taiwan. In the course of his Peking visit he abandoned the two-Chinas tenet of old. The US defence pact with Taiwan expressly affords protection solely in the event of "armed aggression from without."

The pact will expire as soon as the "Chinese themselves" arrive at a political solution. As Peking has undertaken to try to bring about the reincorporation of Taiwan by peaceful means only, this obstacle to normal relations between the United States and China will no doubt be overcome in the foreseeable future. Confidential contacts between Peking and Taipeh have been established for some time.

In other Asian crisis regions problems are gradually growing soluble too. The Sino-American rapprochement has undoubtedly made possible the contacts between the two parts of divided Korea. Reunification even has loomed large on the albeit distant horizon.

This development is being lent decided support by Peking, whereas the United States is still hesitant and the Soviet Union remains silent on the subject.

The Chinese are evidently convinced that the United States is serious about its withdrawal from South-East Asia in general and Indo-China in particular. They know that Richard Nixon, on whose re-election as President they are banking, has given his word.

In the meantime the old idea of neutralisation of Indo-China and all South-East Asia has regained ground. China certainly does not seem to be opposed to the idea once the Vietnam issue has been settled. It could even be that agreement was reached during Mr Nixon's visit to Peking.

No matter how much political and material support China may lend to the struggling Vietnamese Peking has no desire to see North Vietnam rule the roost in all Indo-China.

This view is underlined by Peking's three-peoples-formula and the express and frequent mention of support for the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

On its sensitive southern flank China does not by any means want loyal vassals. It would be quite satisfied with normal relations with cordial neutral countries.

Equally evidently, China is not opposed to a degree of vestigial American presence in Asia. It must not, of course, represent a threat to China, but a counterweight to the Soviet Union would be welcome.

Peking plans to undermine the three-year-old Brezhnev plan for a system of collective security in Asia for which Moscow has of late been drumming up renewed support.

In order to ensure that the Soviet Union does not in some form or other take over America's declining role in Asia Chou En-lai agreed with President Nixon that both countries would combat hegemonial ambitions of other countries in Asia.

This formula was incorporated in the Shanghai communiqué and a similar passage was included in the communiqué signed in Peking by Premiers Chou En-lai of China and Tanaka of Japan.

The artful Chinese have thus forestalled all Soviet approaches to Tokyo, including the possibility of a peace treaty between Japan and the Soviet Union.

Reconciliation between Japan and China, linked as they are by two thousand

Continued on page 3



Bahr in Moscow

State Secretary Egon Bahr of this country met Leonid Brezhnev in Moscow on [illegible] October for talks on the European security conference and MBFR. They also discussed the proposed Four-Power declaration on Allied responsibility for Germany as a whole that is to be issued prior to finalisation of the basic treaty between Bonn and East Berlin. (Photo: dpa)

Thieu not sole obstacle to Vietnam peace

One report may contradict the other as regards the prospects of a political solution to the Vietnam conflict resulting from the condifential negotiations between America and North Vietnam, yet time and time again the most important sine qua non of a peace settlement is reckoned to be the resignation of South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu.

On the strength of reports from Hanoi, Paris and Washington the impression gained might almost be that everyone concerned has reached agreement on all major issues and that bloodshed is only continued because the Americans are not prepared to part company with President Thieu and allow him to be ousted.

Washington may not have stood by past South Vietnamese heads of state through thick and thin. Besides, there can surely be no considerations of personal loyalty that warrant obstructing a peaceful solution to the Vietnam conflict.

There must, then, be far more at stake than the person of the Saigon leader, and all political observers capable of a level-headed judgement are agreed that Hanoi's insistence on General Thieu's resignation applies not only to the General himself but also to the entire administration he represents – the entire political infrastructure of South Vietnam.

The last American peace proposals published – with President Thieu's approval – provided for the Saigon President's resignation four weeks prior to elections for a new government in order to dispel suspicions that gerrymandering was intended.

The Communists countered – not altogether incorrectly – that even if he were out of office for a month President Thieu would still have ample opportunity of bringing influence to bear on the elections.

The Saigon regime, on the other hand, rejects the Vietcong proposal that a three-party coalition conduct the elections. It is afraid lest the Communist partners in the coalition ensure, in the best of Popular Front traditions, that votes are cast in their favour.

Mistrust on the one side runs up against mistrust on the other and the gap could hardly be bridged even if President Thieu were to resign office a year or six months prior to fresh elections.

What right do Hanoi and the FNL, for that matter, have to demand the resignation of President Thieu? They claim that he lacks democratic legitimation and accuse the regime of being puppets imposed on the South Vietnamese by the Americans.

Admittedly, the Thieu regime lacks major democratic qualifications. Yet it is still more liberal than the Communist system in North Vietnam and even Communist observers reckon that the majority of the population of South Vietnam remains opposed to the North Vietnamese set-up.

Hanoi has achieved its current negotiation position by virtue of the deployment of its entire military might in South Vietnam.

According to the North Vietnamese this does not constitute aggression because Vietnam has always been regarded as one country, regardless of the fact that since 1954 the South has developed a degree of independence based on massive American assistance and a position comparable with that of other divided countries such as Korea and Germany.

Nowadays neither international opinion nor the people immediately concerned expect either Korea or Germany to be reunited by force. Why, then, expect the South Vietnamese to give in to a claim by the Communist North that is backed up by military might?

Without a doubt Hanoi has paid a heavy toll for its claim to the leadership of a united Vietnam, if not of Indo-China as a whole. Yet a decisive victory has yet to be won on the battlefield.

The non-Communists in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia have paid no less heavy a toll in defending themselves in the face of the Communist claim to predominance. Their fortunes may have varied but they have yet to be compelled to capitulate.

Both sides have benefited from foreign support but America's military presence in the war theatres has laid the non-Communists open to charges of being the stooges of foreign powers and their interests.

This they may, involuntarily, have been, but the same is true of their opponents and the people immediately concerned on both sides can be said always first and foremost to have fought in their own national interest.

National interests are at stake in the event of a peace settlement and although one can understand that the Communists do not want a repetition of the 1954 Geneva conference at which the great powers came to terms and robbed them of their prize the non-Communist world ought to show at least equal understanding of the position of the anti-Communists in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

Hans Walter Berg

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 9 October 1972)

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PARTY CONFERENCES

Christian Democrats opt to conduct pre-election campaign in a low key

From all quarters we are hearing lately the prediction that the general election on 19 November will in all probability produce a Chancellor – be it Brandt or Barzel – with a very slender majority. Nobody at the moment believes in a landslide victory for either side. Not even the Christian Democrats believe this.

This general appraisal of the situation seems to hang like a lead balloon over the CDU at their party-political conference in Wiesbaden. Certainly the Christian Democrats have not shown themselves to be either buoyant or sure of victory.

Rainer Barzel failed completely to revive the memory of triumphant moments in the Bundestag. And the delegates did not show any spark of enthusiasm about their candidate for the Chancellorship either. This conference was more genteel than fiery.

This atmosphere, which was not to be expected from a national conference, showed fairly clearly that the party leaders had failed to gain the confidence of delegates that the CDU has the right team and the right programme of policies to leap the 19 November hurdle to an absolute majority in the Bundestag.

This may have been the case in Wiesbaden, but that is not the end of the story. In fact it was the intention of Barzel and his opponents in the government camp to play the election campaign in a low key. Their attitude, and it is probably not far wrong, is that those voters who are inclined towards the "union" parties but which still have to be convinced or won back are likely to be middle-of-the-roaders who would not be impressed by fiery and acerbic polemics.

The idea was not to hurt anybody and not tread on any toes. Unless one analyses the speeches closely there are no vestiges of soapbox oratory to be found anywhere. Even the likes of Franz Josef Strauss, not normally the most prim and proper of fellows, was abnormally reticent.

Not all, but certainly most CDU politicians are in favour of an argumentative but nor aggressive election campaign. This may come as something of a surprise after three years of opposition in the Bundestag in which there have been no holds barred and the vociferousness of CDU members was often carried to extremes.

But in this respect too appearances – inasmuch as they are kept up at all – may not just be appearances, but may hide a deeper-lying truth. This reticence is symbolic of a dilemma facing the Christian Democrats of which they have only recently grown aware. The days of stormy opposition in the Bundestag to the Socialist-Liberal coalition are over. And the CDU cannot get by with just churning over the debris of uncompleted reforms and growing inflation. Now the future of the CDU stands and falls with the quality of the alternative programme it has to offer the country for the next four years.

This programme has now been published. It cannot be viewed and appraised in isolation. Its contents must be scrutinised in the light of the vehement opposition the CDU and CSU have put up to the policies of Willy Brandt and Walter Scheel. And here it is a question of two sides of one and the same coin.

The comparative study is of necessity a disappointment. Even at the Wiesbaden party-political conference the after-taste was insipid. It would be all too easy to suggest that Rainer Barzel has come up with a programme that does not contain a load of wild promises. But for why? The programme is couched is such vague terms, it is so obviously out to make all declarations of intent so imprecise that it is more like a catalogue of jolly good things to do than a serious statement of how a Barzel-led government would run the country.

This programme does not do justice to the political strength of the CDU, the substance of the party and the intellectual insight and knowledge of many of its leading members. From the programme as presented it is not even clear whether the party considers tax raises inevitable, even though everyone knows that virtually all domestic reforms depend on the amount of manoeuvrability available, and that means finances.

Certainly this sketched-out programme is on the periphery of all the statements made by the members of the Shadow Cabinet in Wiesbaden and above all the top men, Barzel, Strauss, Schröder and Katzer. But it would be too trite to dismiss the CDU as the party that has carried out its role in opposition far better than it promises to carry out the role it pretends to – tomorrow's government.

The fact that the CDU had dodged expressing its opinions precisely reflects accurately the degree of impossibility of the general situation especially on topics such as inflation – no one has the panacea. But it reflects even more the fact that the CDU/CSU is prevented from making clear-cut decisions by the broad spectrum of opinion within the parties every bit as much as the SPD and FDP, although in a different manner.

The pluralism of the union parties was for many years their strength, particularly in the Adenauer era. Today, however, the best chance of reaching a consensus lies in joint condemnation of the SPD, but not in the formulation of an alternative line, as far as social welfare is concerned at least.

Hans Katzer's suggestions have been given support – with much gnashing of teeth. But elsewhere, in economic and fiscal policies, internal security and German policy the gaps open wide. The skills Rainer Barzel possesses as a leader are not sufficient to paper over these cracks. However, if he did become chancellor his stature would increase.

There is less clarity about ways of realising the obvious ambitions to carry out reforms cherished by the party than about the starting position that will be adopted by the CDU. Stability comes at the top of the list – maintenance of the free enterprise, social welfare economic system and the fight against inflation.

But as a close second comes the CDU's role as an upholder of the State and fighter against socialist and other system-changing tendencies.

There is a lot of truth in the old saying that elections are rarely won by the party in opposition and far more often lost by the party in power. This is something the CDU hopes to build on. *Kurt Becker*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 12 October 1972)

Continued from page 2

years of civilisation, marks the beginning of a new era in world affairs. Close cooperation between China, an enormous country rich in raw materials, and Japan, a technological superpower, now appears a matter of course and could well benefit all Asia.

It remains to be seen how other countries in Asia will respond to the prospect of a Sino-Japanese hook-up. Developments might well culminate in the demand that Asia be left to the Asians.

To begin with, as in the wake of Mr Nixon's visit to China, smaller countries have no option but to come to terms with the changed state of affairs.

Moscow is already thinking in terms of counter-measures. Over the past year it has extended its influence in India and Bangla Desh, while Peking has unerringly stood by Pakistan.

But fresh Soviet attempts to follow in the footsteps of the late John Foster Dulles in forging alliance links with the aim of encircling China have already proved a failure.

Soviet links with India can never represent a counterweight to China as a world power. China's reconciliation with Japan and coming to terms with the United States are insuperable hurdles.

Siegfried Kublnk

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 11 October 1972)

SPD takes up an unaccustomed defensive stance

This time the SPD is not fighting to win positions of power in the land, but for the first time in the history of the Federal Republic is out to defend its position as leading party in the government. This is difficult. A spectre of failure hovers menacingly over the party. For 110 years the party was denied power and it was argued that the Social Democrats were not capable of running the country. How far has this suspicion been scotched?

Even the possibility of failure, of being shoved back into the the second fiddles again, strikes many Social Democrats as a surreptitious factor acting against them, and the Opposition's claim to power seems a threat to peace and progress.

In the first of the not excessive contributions to the Dortmund conference we heard a phrase which seems to bring out the mood of the party: "In the days of the abortive Bundestag putsch." This refers to the unsuccessful constructive vote of no-confidence tried by the "union" parties in the spring. But it will not be be easy to win over a large number of voters with statements of this kind.

It is quite natural that where the pessimists see the future of the country as black, the Reds can only see red when confronted by those who they feel threaten them. Some party alliances are so ill-suited to tactical needs that they play right into the hands of their political opponents.

Panic at the supposed encroaching socialism in the country is, however, only on the surface of things, borne by the statement in this first speech in Dortmund: "The realisation of elementary rights for workers demands that at the same time there should be a breaking down of property rights and of the private control over the whole productive capacity of the nation by a few landowners."

The tripartite proposal from South Hesse is certain to be rejected from the outset. But it is in many ways typical of the mood within the party despite the express assurance given in the draft of the election platform: "The basis . . . is and remains the free enterprise system to which we promise to adhere."

"Arguments against big-money capitalism" form the central leitmotiv of Social Democrat election propaganda. Psychologically speaking this was cleverly chosen since it accords with the envious complexes of the small man and the uprightness of Social Democrat officialdom. But it gives cause for concern because it undermines the SPD's claim to represent broad sectors of the community.

There is clearly a high degree of embarrassment in the terms of the SPD election platform. The dilemma of the party in this election campaign is that it must give proof positive of its claim to be *the* progressive party, while on the other hand it must back this up with programmatic ideas. In other words it must do exactly the things for which it has been reproved in the past eighteen months: it must give rise to expectations that it may well not be able to meet. At the same time the SPD must prove that it has learnt from past failures.

It is no wonder that the party's election platform is only specific when it deals with the balance sheet of the party's achievements. Its promises seem so extravagant that the criticism that they are again light-headed illusions will not be without foundation.

Once again everything is made shipshape: the structural problems in mining and shipbuilding, internal security, the "quality of life" and social and economic justice in general. Cities are to be made fit to live in, rents are to be brought under control, traffic is to be less of an environmental plague and the education system is to be improved.

Despite the solidarity in evidence clashes between the party leadership and rank and file are inevitable. The election programme states clearly: "The strength of our alliance and the negotiating strength of the Federal Republic depend on the contribution we are prepared to make to Nato defences . . . Therefore we and our partners in the Alliance will do everything to see that our own internal defences are kept up to strength."

On the other hand South Hesse demands: "Cut the defence budget!" without touching on the environment of foreign policy. And the opinions of the party offices in Bremen are probably typical of the mood throughout the SPD: "One major factor in international price rises and those in the Federal Republic is unproductive expenditure on armaments, financing the Vietnam War and other theatres of battle and European and Federal Republic defence expenditure." Suddenly inflationary tendencies have become "armaments inflation".

Divergent lines such as this should not be overestimated and the practice the SPD has in warding off such unpalatable proposals will stand them in good stead just before the elections and prevent "own goals". The party's self-discipline has proved a boon as the reticence of the Young Socialists has shown.

The slogan for Dortmund was practically exclusively: concentrate on the rituals of acclamation and solidarity, back up the renown of Willy Brandt and ward off any doubts there may be in his reputation. In this sense the SPD is following in the "union" parties' footsteps.

The SPD name seven reasons why the CDU cannot provide an alternative government but only one why they should continue in power: Willy Brandt. In their defensive strategy he is their only weapon of attack. *Eduard Neumaier*

(Die Zeit, 13 October 1972)

■ NAMES IN THE NEWS

Bundestag Speaker Kai-Uwe von Hassel in profile

DIE ZEIT

It can already be heard from some quarters that party politics formed the main reason why Kai-Uwe von Hassel asked Chancellor Willy Brandt to explain what he meant by the charge of corruption he levelled against some Bundestag deputies.

The Bundestag President's letter to the Chancellor seems to fit into the general scheme of things along with the angry protests from the Opposition, the demand to name names, the silence on the part of coalition partner Walter Scheel and the weak counter-attacks from SPD ranks.

In this situation the Bundestag President's move must appear as an attempt to rebuke Willy Brandt and the Social Democrats – quite apart from the fact that the result too is embarrassing to them. There is no proof at all of corruption.

But it would be unjust to ascribe von Hassel's actions to political motives, despite the fact that a little too much Lutheran valliance shines through when he states, "I could do no other!" But that is in keeping both with his character and his office.

In his three and a half years as Bundestag President, von Hassel has acquired the reputation of credibility. He pushed through the much-discussed parliamentary reform whereas his predecessor Egon Gerstenmaier did not even go through the motions.

The establishment of Bundestag protocol had to negotiate a number of obstacles but it reached its destination, though it was as far removed from the original intention as the parliamentary reform was.

Von Hassel can also be thanked for increasing the efficiency of parliamentary machinery and freeing the Bundestag from its stiff informality, the Bundestag staff from their unquestioning devotion to authority and the office of President from any pretensions about being a political nanny.

Much of what von Hassel introduced was deliberate. In other cases he made the best of a bad job. He was able to avoid posing as he never had the desire to be a *praeceptor germaniae*. He has never claimed to be an intellectual.

He is a capable, though not brilliant politician. His sense of political theory is limited but his abilities where political tactics are concerned are well-developed.

Von Hassel can be described as politically and humanly normal, as the personification of the average member of the population. For a long time this was considered a black mark against his name.

This moderacy fitted in well with the post of Bundestag President. The Bundestag must thank him that its President is no longer an obstinate commander. Von Hassel was well aware of his limits ("Men of action as well as thinkers must have their place in politics") and this kept him from falling victim to arrogance.

Respect for other people and other people's achievements kept him from falling victim to a pride that might demand other people's subjection to him. Von Hassel always carries his own briefcase. As he himself has gone wrong in the past, he can smile when other people go wrong. Among the administrative staff of the Bundestag obedience gave way to loyalty.

His opposition to privilege and his enthusiasm in helping the Bundestag increase its efficiency have changed von Hassel's public image astonishingly quickly. The picture of him is a worthy leader of the House did not suffer in the process. The office could have been made for him.

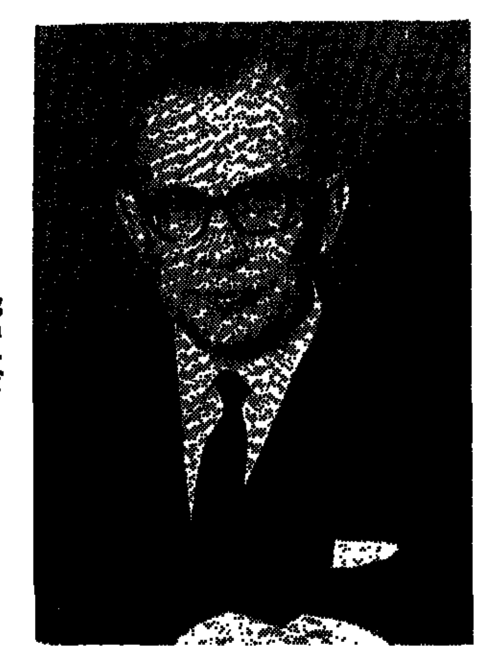
The Social Democrats were the first to change their ideas about von Hassel. In February 1969 they had still voted against him but eight months later, after the general election, most were for him.

Hassel's intentions of being politically neutral have never been seriously doubted until this election campaign. It is true that the SPD thought he reacted too cautiously during the Geldner affair in 1970 and attributed this to his party membership. From time to time he has been attacked for allowing unsuitable motions from the Opposition while rejecting suitable government motions. But these were only harmless grouses.

No basic doubts are contained in Herbert Wehner's ironic description of von Hassel as the bureaucratic head of a Bundestag machine either. Wehner was only poking fun at von Hassel's tendency to be pedantic and attentive to the smallest detail.

These are still throwbacks to his old executive days. As Defence Minister, von Hassel paid attention to thousands of details – and lost track of the overall idea. As a knowledgeable Bundestag official commented, Wehner's characterisation is on the whole apt, though unjust – unjust as von Hassel cannot be blamed for wanting to do things better than his predecessor.

Von Hassel has used his moderation in the last three years to save the Bundestag much of the bitterness which has been common enough anyway. Von Hassel does not regret the fact that there is so



Kai-Uwe von Hassel

(Photo: Archiv)

much controversy as it is a result of the polarisation of the political situation. It fits in with his liking for hard debates. He was always one for using the big guns, one of the reasons why the Social Democrats were against him at first. He asked no mercy and gave none.

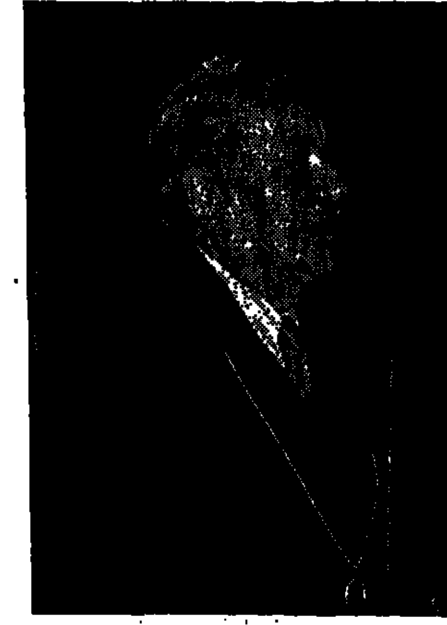
Von Hassel as mediator is an artificial product – a synthesis of experience and self-discipline.

He once paid too little attention to public relations work but since becoming Bundestag President he has realised that the press can both build up and destroy a reputation. He does nothing now without first preparing and discussing it with journalists who appreciate von Hassel's hospitality even more now that he has re-married.

He has been even more concerned about gaining support and understanding for the Bundestag since the stalemate reached in the spring. His belief that Bundestag deputies should be allowed to switch parties in much the same way as voters do has at least done something

Continued on page 5

Veteran Social Democrat Carlo Schmid retires



Carlo Schmid

(Photo: dpa)

Social Democrat Carlo Schmid left the political stage quietly and unspectaculary after 25 equally quiet and reserved years in the trade. But the traces of his political activity, wherever he carried them out, will long be evident.

Schmid was never such a devotee of the fight for power and the fight with power that he ever wanted to fight for power in his own hands. But he played a great part in forming the political side of the Federal Republic. As a member of the Parliamentary Council he helped formulate Basic Law, this country's constitution.

An aesthete among politicians – he preferred to read Baudelaire than the text of a Federal law – Schmid always regretted that political activities left him too little time for his scientific work.

The political world took him into its clutches just after the end of the Second World War. He was Prime Minister of Württemberg-Hohenzollern before going to Bonn where he belonged to the Bundestag from the very beginning and acted as its Vice-President for many years. He was not accustomed to make personal attacks on his political opponents despite the biting sharpness of his arguments.

The son of a German father and French mother, Schmid became a German national shortly before the First World War and fought for Germany in two world wars. But Carlo Schmid was always a convinced European and an advocate of Franco-German reconciliation because of his origins.

As a member of a generation experiencing the Third Reich, he blamed himself and the intellectuals for keeping quiet during that era. Carlo Schmid, now almost 76 years old, can give up political work and return to his books in the sure knowledge that he has obtained the respect of even his most determined political opponents.

C. Dietrich Brettschneider

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 19 October 1972)

Tragic death of CSU's Baron von Guttenberg

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

Karl Theodor Freiherr von und zu Guttenberg, the CSU politician, died at his castle near Kulmbach, Upper Franconia, on 4 October at the age of [illegible]. The cause of death was the same incurable disease that forced him to give up his seat in the Bundestag on 30 May.

Guttenberg was a prisoner-of-war and cooperated in German-language political broadcasts transmitted from Britain in the Second World War. He was a member of the Bundestag from 1957 and became one of the CDU/CSU's best spokesmen on foreign policy. Guttenberg was parliamentary state secretary to the then Chancellor Kurt Georg Kiesinger during the days of the Grand Coalition.

Guttenberg's speeches to the Bundestag – including his last one, given when he was already struck down by disease – were always among the highlights of Bundestag debates.

He warned against the danger of coming to terms with Eastern Europe and surrendering German positions, though many of the supporters of a more flexible policy in the CDU/CSU did not share his determined attitude on this issue.

He explained that he was more concerned with the moral question and did not want democratic forms of life to be tainted by misunderstood rapprochement with totalitarian ideologies.

Baron Guttenberg

(Photo: dpa)

But the CDU/CSU did not follow the advice of its veteran spokesman on foreign affairs when it decided to allow the treaties with Moscow and Warsaw to be passed by the Bundestag and ordered its members to abstain.

However, much of what Guttenberg said in the Bundestag entered into political calculations and helped sway public opinion. Guttenberg's rhetoric was a contributory factor. Despite all passion for the issue at hand, he avoided all traces of demagogy or personal attacks and concentrated on the arguments of his opponents.

By adhering to his convictions once he had adopted them, Guttenberg eventually became an independent member within his own party, a figure that is becoming increasingly rare in politics.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 5 October 1972)

Continued from page 4

towards putting all empty talk about conscience into a different light. Conscience is a word that has been used too much in recent months, he claims.

Though he may feel satisfaction about the increase in Opposition ranks, he still looks somewhat askance upon these changes in party allegiance. On the one hand there is his respect for persons whose views are similar to his own conservative views and who change parties as they wish to remain faithful to their ideology, their conscience and their ideas instead of adapting themselves to changed circumstances.

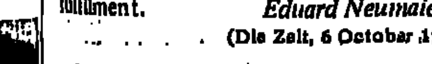
On the other hand there is his distaste that someone could desert from the ranks. Von Hassel objects to comparisons between people who change their party allegiance and those who desert their colours but he would not abandon the CDU even in the unlikely prospect of the party returning tomorrow to the Ahlen programme.

His predictability, his honesty, his extraordinary ability to give equal sonorous and moderated treatment to the banal words he speaks to the party or the considered speeches he gives on important parliamentary occasions, his immense application and his constant readiness for work, even ungratifying grassroots party work, make him a person who is accepted by all in the CDU.

His rise in the CDU can be attributed to this lack of controversy that surrounds his name. He was Prime Minister of the Federal State of Schleswig-Holstein from 1954 to 1962 (and still looks back to this period as his finest), Defence Minister in Bonn up to 1966 (a period to which he does not look back so gladly), Expellees Minister in the intervening period up to 1969 (a post that has left no traces upon him) and since 1969 Bundestag President, the post in which he has felt most fulfilment.

Eduard Neumaier

(Die Zeit, 6 October 1972)



■ INTRA-GERMAN AFFAIRS

Bonn and East Berlin plod on with major marathon talks

An old Jewish joke begins: "Kohn and Grün were sitting together in a railway compartment." And a German joke begins: "Kohl and Bahr are sitting together over the negotiating table."

This quip, heard at the Eastern European stock exchange of political jokes in Budapest, expressed both amusement and surprise about latest developments in Germany.

Hope and scepticism were also contained in these words. The intra-German talks are not yet seen as something matter-of-fact, least of all by the Germans themselves.

Would these talks have ever begun without the pressure exerted by the allies of both countries? Or are State Secretaries Egon Bahr and Michael Kohl negotiating against the will of their powerful allies?

There is no doubt about it. The *querelles d'Allemands* are to be solved so that the powers and superpowers can turn to other problems. This also determines the timetable of the German dialogue. The details are left to the negotiators themselves as they pose more difficulties than the four Allies' agreement on principle.

The two Germanies are to agree on a treaty fixing their mutual relations. The German Democratic Republic has submitted a "Draft for a Treaty on the Normalisation of Relations".

It states that the GDR should be given full diplomatic recognition with an exchange of ambassadors between Bonn and East Berlin. All the other problems of the divided nation are to be discussed on the basis of this treaty "as is usual between sovereign States".

But the Federal government cannot treat things as simply as this. It recognises the existence of two German States but is unwilling to deny or ignore the existence of one German nation.

Unlike the GDR leadership, the Federal government is also unwilling to guarantee the existence of the two States for all time. A statement to this effect would contravene the paragraph of Basic Law calling for reunification.

That is why the Federal government wants the treaty to consider the possibility of unity under a future peace treaty. This rules out the establishment of the normal diplomatic relations usual between sovereign States. Egon Bahr speaks of special relations, relations *sui generis* without any historic precedent.

Bahr was referring to these problems when he said at the end of the last round of negotiations that no agreement was in sight. The work of formulating the treaty to which he also referred also covers questions of human easements. And there does seem to be progress in this sector.

Eastern European sources suggest that the GDR leadership has offered more in this sector than Bonn could once have hoped for. Kohl therefore plans to add to the list of necessary improvements. That comes as a surprise.

But surprise must be tempered with caution. It appears as if the GDR leadership plans to agree to these improvements in exchange for concessions on the question of status.

But a transaction of this type will not succeed. What good is a treaty full of the finest and most desirable human easements if it fails to be accepted by the Federal Constitutional Court? East Berlin realises this as well as Bonn.

It looks at present as if the search for compromises could last some time. But both sides are under pressure as far as time is concerned. The Soviet Union is in a hurry to turn to other questions. It wishes to reap the harvest from its policies towards the West as soon as possible in the interests of its economic policy.

GDR leaders believe that the door to the United Nations will be wide open to them if negotiations are concluded soon. The Federal government realises that the practical human easements contained in the treaty could improve its chances at the forthcoming election if only it is published in time. (But it can also be sure that a bad treaty would provide ammunition for the Opposition). In short, both sides are under pressure although State Secretaries Bahr and Kohl are continually claiming to have ample time.

In a situation like this there is the theoretical possibility of the GDR leaders deciding to publish their list of suggested improvements in order to put pressure on the people of the Federal Republic. Look what you could have if you overrule your lawyers, they would be saying. But any ideas or moves to this effect would be politically unwise.

Attention must be drawn to a more important consideration. Statements by East Berlin propaganda organs suggest that the GDR leaders want the treaty with the Federal Republic to be seen as part of a general package including Bonn's treaties with Moscow and Warsaw.

The Federal Republic would then have to subordinate its foreign and domestic policy to these treaties, the GDR hints.

Dietrich Möller

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 3 October 1972)

■ ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

Bundesbank seeks to boost its powers of decision

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

The Bundesbank's self confidence has grown. This August it published a highly respected report in which it expressed its relationship to the Bonn government. At that time this country's supreme guardians of the currency expressed their belief in "concerted action" or an "*entente monetaire*" where this would benefit the pursuance of aims held in common.

Without beating about the bush, however, the Bundesbank stated that its support of the Federal Cabinet's policies came to an abrupt end at the securing of the value of the Mark, that is to say greater stability of the currency.

Now the self-conficent bankers have followed this report up with a declaration of intent. The Bundesbank will, as far as time allows, provide itself with a new battery of weapons by the middle of next year. Noises emanating from Frankfurt have suggested a new Bundesbank Law. Obviously the Bundesbank does not only consider this an essential but would also view it as an attestation of the Bank's key role in the fight to regain currency stability.

One insider with a good knowledge of the workings of the Bank recently compared it with a watchdog – it is kept on a chain and can only carry out its duties to a strictly limited extent. At best it can guard the front door to the house, but it has no influence on what is happening round the back.

Obviously the Bundesbank has been feeling for some time that this is its role. It is an open secret that Bank President Karl Klasen and members of the Central Bank Committee are not happy with the armoury at their disposal.

For example the policy of high interest rates in 1970 showed that only certain sectors of the economy are affected by the level of interest rates. In addition high interest rates have the unwanted side effect of attracting money from abroad. The flood of dollars meant that the Bundesbank had to drop its high interest rate policy last year and today's three-per-cent Bank Rate is the lowest in the world.

Another weapon that proved ineffectual was the raising of the minimum required bank reserves deposited interest-free at the Bundesbank. This tightened the reins on bank loans, it is true, but it was unable to check the inflationary expansion of the amount of money in circulation and the rapid increase in loans.

In the light of these experiences the Bundesbank obviously decided that the best means of defence was attack and its experts came forward with the suggestion that the Bundesbank Law should be amended. The new powers would involve an increase in room for manoeuvre on the active side of bank balances. For instance the plans include the suggestion that *credit* balances should also be subject to minimum reserves. Experts in Frankfurt say that with minimum reserves enforceable on investment accounts as well as borrowing it will be much easier to steer *the ship* on a purposeful course.

Another point under discussion is a "credit ceiling" whereby the Bundesbank would be able to specify the total scope of money that could be loaned. However this move is of such a dirigistic nature that it should either be dropped altogether or introduced solely as an emergency power. When moves of this kind are implemented we get entangled in that noble battle between those who can always find a loophole and those who hasten to sew each one up as it appears.

If the Bundesbank achieves its ambitions its extra powers will bring with them extra responsibility. Karl Klasen with his desire to see added refinements in control of loans and Helmut Schmidt, who lays great stress on the consolidation of finance policy, should without doubt be able to reach agreement.

In many quarters, of course, the suspicion has found voice that the Bonn government wants to pass the buck for depreciation in the value of the Mark to the Bundesbank. To its credit the Bank of Issue has countered this with its unequivocal suggestion that the generous nature of public spending was bound to affect the economy and prices and that this must bear much of the responsibility.

Protection of the economy from imported influences is another worry – this is the making or breaking of an effective credit policy. Controls on foreign exchange and the market in capital would be a poor complement to the Bundesbank's intentions, however, since they run counter to the idea of progressive international currency policy integration.

Recently the President of the Association of Bankers Alwin Münchmeyer again described foreign exchange controls as "curing the symptoms". Defending unrealistic exchange rates by means of controls is not only something that can usually be undermined, but is also a factor that leads to a continuation of the inflationary climate.

This aspect of the problem can basically only be solved by worldwide action. The major international currency conference which began in Washington on 25 September needs to come up with some answers – but probably we will wait in vain for them yet again; this is the curse of international currency policies.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 24 September 1972)

Immediate action to curb prices needed

Prices are getting completely out of hand. This is the case all over the world. In industrial countries of the Western world price rises are between 5 and eight per cent and in Great Britain as much as nine per cent. The rate of increase in the cost of living for private households in the Federal Republic rose in September by six per cent for the first time since the War.

This is surely an unmistakable signal to the Bundesbank that this is now the time to act. The Central Bank Committee will at its next meeting have to take steps to limit credit. It is no good looking to the nine-per-cent rise in Britain and waiting for joint measures by the enlarged European Economic Community. Steps must be taken on a national basis to get to grips with the inflationary price spiral.

The Bundesbank's present position is unenviable. Its room for manoeuvre is limited. The recent bolstering up of the dollar and the outflow of foreign money that it has caused has indeed increased its elbow room, but at the same time it has brought new problems in its wake.

Tougher credit restrictions commencing with the raising of Bank Rate from the present three per cent would be an incentive to foreign investors to put their money into the Federal Republic. The the Bundesbank must use kid gloves – a half-per-cent increase in Bank Rate would appear to be the maximum admissible. The banks' interest rates would go up by the same amount. This would cause a slight dampening down of the level of loans being raised, which is at present extremely high.

Measures already taken to put a squeeze on credit have caused a noticeable decline in liquidity. If the Central Bank Committee of the Bundesbank now decides on a lowering of the upper limits for utilisation of *Wechselkrediten* (credit based on the drawing of a bill of exchange in the form of a bill discount, an acceptance credit, a bill drawn on the debtor or an advance against bills) by cutting the rediscount quota (amount up to which a bank can rediscount at the Bundesbank) the amount of liquid cash available for loans at banks should reach rock bottom. In this way the Bundesbank could put a definite end to the expanding amount of liquid cash available in this country.

There has been much talk of a price freeze, but countries that have already tried this measure have discovered without fail that as soon as the price thaw comes prices rocket again, reducing the whole idea to absurdity. This is tantamount to replacing a bomb with a time bomb.

And a price freeze is never total. If the Federal Republic implemented one from 1 January 1973 prices would still increase by 2.5 to 2.7 per cent. If nothing is done it is estimated that the price increase next year will be a record in the region of 6.9 to 7.4 per cent.

On no account should the Bundesbank vacillate until the next government is formed, so as to be able to implement paragraph 23 of the foreign trade law to the full. By that time it could be too late.

Banks are calling for concerted interaction of fiscal policy, wage-scale policy and credit policy. In other words they are calling on the State and both sides of industry to work together with the Bundesbank. An attempt to create stability by monetary policies alone would be bound to fail or would have to be bought at the expense of loss of economic growth.

Folke W. Friese

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 5 October 1972)

Despite recent losses stock market has buoyant year

Peneral tendencies on the stock exchange in the first nine months of this years have been quite encouraging despite the losses incurred in late August and September. The share index is about sixteen points higher than at the beginning of the year. In early August the gain was as much as 23 per cent.

Since then there have been fluctuations and a general downward trend. But the losses have not been dramatic and the attitude of the majority of investors is that the profits situation in Federal Republic companies and their standing as compared with overseas concerns at this time provide a good basis for investment.

One thing is certain: 1972 has not seen one ecstatic high so there should not be a depressive low on the way. Experts feel that a stock market slump is most unlikely as the economic cycle is at the beginning of another period of expansion. The trend in company profits is upwards.

It is undeniable that Federal Republic stock market experts predict economic developments, for when the public was being warned of the possibility of a new recession share prices were already climbing steadily upwards.

Buyers were, in the main, not Germans who liked taking a risk but foreign groups that had an eye on international trends and were prepared to judge the situation in the Federal Republic more favourably than domestic investors were ready to do at the turn of the year. And there was the element of flight to the safety of the Mark for these investors as well.

There can be little doubt that the major influx of foreign money into the Federal Republic early this year was largely responsible for the economic boost. Now this supply of cash is being cut back, largely through the efforts of the Bundesbank, there is less room for manoeuvre for investors, especially in finance houses. The high demand for loans is forcing banks to sell securities. This partly explains the drop in share prices in recent weeks.

There has been a growing desire this year to obtain shares which were climbing steadily and thus there has been more than average pressure on the shares of those companies whose profits situation is in order.

One dominant factor in stock market trends this year has been the great differentiation. Shares have soared in some directions, building firms, chain stores, motor manufacturers, electrical



goods producers, for instance, while there have been relatively slight gains in banks, machinery manufacturers and large chemicals firms. In some cases prices have dropped.

Many companies have profited from their international renown, particularly Siemens and also Daimler, BMW, Schering and Mannesmann. And the fact that foreigners also know how to differentiate has been shown by the neglect of shares in chemicals firms. Only in exceptional cases could foreign investors be tempted to buy these shares. There was no question of buying blind as the Americans used to do.

The last three months of this year are likely to be quiet on the stock market. For a start there is the shadow of the forthcoming elections and the probable further credit restrictions imposed by the Bundesbank. Speculation on the outcome of the election will affect shares one way and the other, but it is not likely to create any lasting trend.

On account of the uncertainty many investors in securities are fleeing to fixed-interest bonds. These promise a return of eight per cent. They also promise a bulwark against inflation if the tax on them is overlooked.

This has not been an entirely happy year for investors in securities on account of the fluctuation in interest rates. It should not be forgotten that this year seven-per-cent bonds have been issued on which the rate has already fallen to 92 or 93 per cent. They were issued when credit was easy to come by thanks to the flood of foreign money into this country. But things have changed. The eight percenter has established itself mainly because of the firm principle that new bonds should come on the market only when the old issue has been fully subscribed.

Kurt Wendt

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 30 September 1972)

■ INDUSTRY

Siemens celebrates 125 years in business



Many of the appliances in daily use from electric lights to automatic telephones, nuclear power stations, washing machines and computers all carry the trade mark of a Federal Republic firm that has in some cases developed the appliances or improved them. The internationally well-known firm is Siemens of Munich and Berlin.

On 1 October the 125th anniversary of the establishment of the firm will be celebrated. A lieutenant of artillery Werner Siemens with his cousin Johann Georg Siemens together with a mechanic, Johann Georg Halske, signed the papers for *Telegraphen Bau-Anstalt Siemens & Halske*. Twelve days later the firm went into production in a Berlin yard employing ten people and three lathes.

The establishment of this firm was the preliminary to the development of the largest electrical concern in this country with an annual turnover of approximately 15 milliard Marks employing over 300,000 people. Werner Siemens went on to discover the needle telegraph and the seamless cable encased in guttapercha.

Werner Siemens was born in Lenthe, near Hanover in 1816, the son of a crown-land lessee. He had given much thought to the industrial use of this and other discoveries. But when his mother and father died in 1840 shortly after each other he could not continue his technical studies. But he had acquired some useful technical knowledge during his officer training at the artillery and engineering school in Berlin. It was only due to the delight in taking risks that was a characteristic of cousin Georg, who was a King's Counsel in Berlin, that they were able to raise the 6,000 thalers needed to establish the firm and apply the epoch-making discoveries of the telegraph and the material possibilities that Werner Siemens' friend Halske had developed.

This modest beginning explains much about the progress of the founders and successors of the firm. They did not concern themselves only with turnover and profits but also with the wellbeing of their employees.

When the firm was 25 years old there were subsidiaries and associates in Britain, Russia and Austria. Siemens was the first private company in Germany to establish a system of pensions and widows and orphans funds for its employees, 19 years before Bismarck introduced his social security plan. Today 35,000 former employees benefit from the firm's pension fund.

Six years previously Siemens had introduced a "stock-taking" bonus, which has since developed into a permanent scheme for sharing in the firm's success. Back in the first decade of this century, the firm's fair treatment of its employees included shorter working hours than in other firms, the company sickness insurance scheme started in 1908 and paid holidays – introduced in 1909.

It was these schemes, many years ahead of their time, to which Werner von Siemens (elevated to the nobility in 1888) attributed "a large part of the business success we have achieved".

This "corporate spirit" is still alive today and has most recently been expressed in the decision to eliminate the differences between blue-collar and white-collar workers. It was also partly responsible for the offer of shares for the company staff at particularly favourable conditions of which more than 60,000 Siemens employees had taken advantage. Siemens staff form a very significant part of the 330,000 shareholders. And the corporate spirit has also made itself felt in many foundations, grants and other social and cultural spheres.

And even after several years in which company profits have not been up to expectation it is this corporate spirit that determines that the 125th anniversary will be passed quite quietly without any speculative handouts. Even though Siemens world turnover for the first time passed the 15 milliard Mark level in 1971/1972 shareholders and staff cannot expect any special gifts any more than they could twenty-five or fifty years ago.

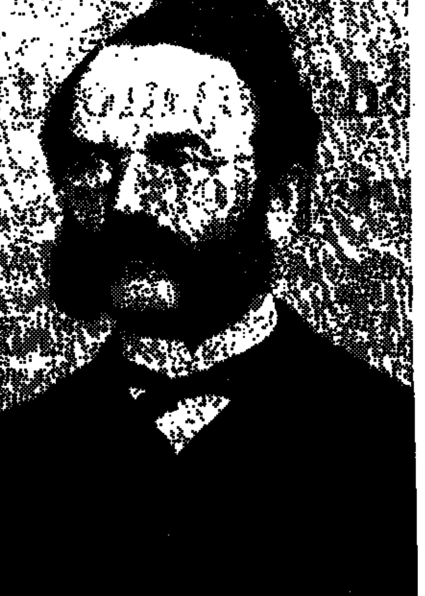
Chairman of the Board Dr Bernhard Plettner stated recently that the situation as regards to profits was looking up. But Dr Plettner who has been the number one at Siemens for over a year would not forecast dividends. Last year dividends were cut from eight to seven Marks per 50-Mark share.

Festivities at Siemens will be limited to the usual jubilee celebrations at which Dr Peter von Siemens will be present in Munich while in six other cities where Siemens have important factories board chairman will celebrate the significance of the day.

Peter von Siemens said that the 1971–1972 turnover of 15 milliard Marks involved forty per cent foreign trading. The growth rate was 12 per cent. Of Siemens 300,000 employees about one quarter work abroad. The increased interdependence of world markets is just one of many factors that have induced Siemens to expand foreign production.

The most decisive factor in this decision was the plan to take the work to the workers rather than recruiting more Gastarbeiter. The present and future of Siemens, according to the chairman of the supervisory board, is not in its world-wide electronics division but in the creation of new strongholds. He said that a general tidying up of the research, production and sales programmes was essential.

The original declared aim of the company founder was for his firms to produce everything electrical. Today Siemens has ninety production centres in interests in 450 cities, 119 States and all five continents. This intention arose from Siemens discovery of the electro-dynamic



Werner von Siemens

(Photo: Werner-von-Siemens-Institut)

principle which paved the way for high voltage circuits and later supply techniques.

For year after year no new development of application of electronics was made in which Siemens did not have a share. In fact even when today's strongest Federal Republic competitor, AEG-Telefunken was founded in 1887 Siemens & Halske were in at the christening with a shareholding.

Since then the worldwide use of electricity and the continued increase in its application have led to a clear change in the firm's policy. There is scarcely a sphere in which Siemens research and development laboratories do not operate. They have a large share in the largest private research centre for fuel and power in the world in Erlangen which employs 1,500 experts.

In many spheres the firm has looked for partners as majority or minority shareholders. It has such links with Philips in the records division and soon also in computer technology, AEG-Telefunken in the construction of power stations and turbines, Bosch for household products, Felten & Guilleaume for cables, and others.

On the other hand Siemens has made many developments on its own including important basic materials for the production of semi-conductors which are today indispensable and it has issued licences for such development to companies all over the world.

The firm also has small holdings in other industries such as Blohm & Voss, the Hamburg shipyards, and in the aerospace company Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm, Munich. These insure the firm important access to industries where their electronics knowhow is useful.

Georg Gnieser

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 3 October 1972)

New managing director appointed for Preussag

Preussag, the multi-faceted Hanover concern, which has about 170,000 small shareholders and is one of this country's most important private ownership companies along with such as Veba and Volkswagen, is in desperate need of creating an air of calm at the top of the pyramid. The management crisis has been going on for too long and the image and business of the concern are beginning to suffer as a consequence.

Shareholders have been expressing their displeasure at the comings and goings in no uncertain terms. At the company's general meeting last July it was stated quite clearly: "Preussag shareholders are bitter."

Top man Dr Friedrich Krämer has now stepped down, three years before the expiry of his contract. He had been in the crossfire of criticism for months. The main complaint was that his desire to expand Preussag was hardly in tune with the state of the company which had slid deeply into the red in certain sectors.

Dr Krämer, 62, a retired senior ministerial adviser and General Secretary of the Deutsch-Marokkanische Gesellschaft, bought into the most diverse sectors, such as consumer goods, chemicals and fire prevention (the Stuttgart fire-extinguisher manufacturers Minimax were taken over last year) in fine style.

Along with these new involvements further expansion of existing divisions, metals and foundries, transport, oil and natural gas, coal, water and pipe and tube manufacturing was undertaken. None of this could prevent the company running up losses, largely caused by heavy deficits in the heavy-metal and rare-metal sectors.

Dividends were cut and Preussag share prices fell from 260 Marks at the beginning of 1970 to 127 Marks at present. This clearly underlined the company's plight. Ludwig Poullain, the lively head of Westdeutsche Landesbank, which has a holding in Preussag, left no stone unturned in his efforts to secure the removal of Krämer.

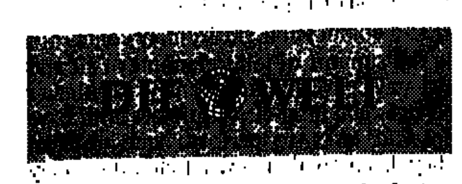
Now the changeover at top level has been completed and 42-year-old geologist Dr Günther Sassmannshausen has taken over. He has been with the company since 1955 gradually working his way up the ladder. He has taken over the controls at a time when Preussag and the Frankfurter Metallgesellschaft have got together to forge a wedding ring from the metal industries that are at present stricken with heavy losses in certain sectors.

It will depend on the streamlining of the metalworking sectors of Preussag and the organisational changes now under way whether Sassmannshausen can steer the company on a successful course.

Werner Neitzel

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 19 September 1972)

Bayer takes out 35% share in Metzeler



In a transaction that has surprised even the experts, Bayer and the Metzeler Group have paved the way for joint action in the future. Bayer has taken out a thirty-five per cent holding in the share capital of Metzeler AG, which has at the same time been increased from 75 to one hundred million Marks.

This move has given Bayer a foot in the door of the processing industries for three materials, rubber, foams and plastics.

Chairman of the board Professor Kurt Hansen, stated at a press conference that participation in Metzeler would not only mean an *entrée* into previously closed sectors of the chemicals industry, for Bayer and the guarantee of sales to a very important customer, but would also give Bayer additional impetus in its long-term active marketing policy in certain sectors that were most vital for the Leverkusen-based firm, particularly poly-urethane chemicals.

Willy Kaus, up till now the sole proprietor and board chairman of Metzeler, Munich, told the press that after long, hard consideration he had come to his decision that only company cooperation could guarantee the future of the group.

His company policy of expanding the Metzeler Group into the most significant Federal Republic company in the sphere of plastic foam processing and an important factor on the market in rubber and plastics had to be given up owing to the structural difficulties of the group and the technical capacities of the works.

Financial consolidation would have taken another five or six years, he explained. There was a heavy burden of interest payments on the group as a result of the large outside loans taken out and pressure on profits was hard as a result of increasing wage bills and other overheads. There was no prospect of Metzeler making under its own steam the 100 million Marks or so that would have been needed for financial consolidation. The agreement reached with Bayer has made this amount available.

(Die Welt, 6 October 1972)



AVIATION

Spectre of unemployment faces airline pilots

I am a co-pilot with 2,300 flying hours experience and licences for BAC 111s and Boeing 707s. Have applied to all airlines and charter companies in this country for a job. Nothing going. Negative response from fifty foreign airlines too."

"Captain, 8,000 hours flying experience. Applications partly rejected, partly unanswered. at present working on manuals. Current employer has promised captaincy of a 20-tonner as soon as firm is granted flying licence."

"Captain, 3,500 hours experience, all applications in this country negative. Foreigner taken on by airline X following my application."

These quotations are part of a survey conducted by Cockpit, the pilots' association, among its 1,600 members. They underline a nightmare that has taken hold of this dream profession for roughly a year: the spectre of unemployment.

A few years ago airline pilots were in demand. High salaries were offered, applications were welcomed from this country and abroad. Pilots were even induced to resign from the armed forces and work in civil aviation.

Now 150 out of a total 2,000 airline pilots in this country are unemployed. In May (the results of the next survey will shortly be available) 83 of them were on the dole, single men receiving 198.80 Marks, married men a maximum of 234.80 Marks a week.

"That goes on my rent and the premium of my insurance policy against losing my pilot's licence (at the moment I stand to forfeit my licence because I am not getting in the required number of flying hours). My girlfriend earns our living. She is an air hostess with another, flourishing charter operator."

This particular man used to be a co-pilot with Air Commerz earning 2,500 Marks a month. Like many of his colleagues he was given notice to quit when the company ran into hard times.

This state of affairs virtually materialised overnight in a previously flourishing profession when Paninternational became the first domestic charter operator to collapse after a BAC 111 crashed near Hamburg.

With the demise of Paninternational thirty crews — sixty captains and co-pilots — were suddenly out of a job and among the ranks of the world's unemployed.

It was September 1971 and sixty pilots and co-pilots could just not be assimilated by a market amply supplied by aviation colleges and the Luftwaffe, work permits also being issued to foreign nationals on demand.

Reinhold Hüls, the captain of the BAC 111 that crashed, has now, at long last, found a job with General Air. A year after the crash his co-pilot. Elisabeth Friske, is still unemployed.

Yet both of them showed unusual presence of mind in crash-landing on the autobahn near Hasloh, north of Hamburg. Had they not done so, all 121 passengers and crew would have been killed. As it was, 99 people survived.

When Paninternational's flight crews were suddenly in need of jobs the only airlines that needed additional staff were companies that were already in a bad way financially. A number of them followed Paninternational into bankruptcy and unemployed pilots found it increasingly difficult to get back in the air.

Indeed, at least one company made capital out of the employment situation. There are no generally agreed salary rates for charter pilots and the firm compelled its flight staff to sign new contracts that left them worse off than before.

The only airline pilots' jobs that are safe are those of Lufthansa and its charter subsidiary, Condor. Lufthansa, the largest employer in the country, trains its own pilots, however, and has no need of additional staff this year.

The remaining jobs that other operators have on offer are applied for not only by the current reserve of unemployed ex-airline pilots but also by the graduates of private aviation colleges, by Luftwaffe pilots retrained to fly civilian aircraft at the Bundeswehr's expense and by a large number of foreign pilots.

All of them underbid the pilots currently grounded, yet all of them stand to land in the same boat one of these days. The 21 captains recently sacked by LTU because of a change-over to new aircraft include young pilots, old hands, Germans and foreigners alike.

Many Federal Republic pilots have mixed feelings about foreign nationals in their cockpits. The authorities in this country readily recognise foreign licences. Foreign aviation authorities can be less obliging.

Many foreign airlines do not employ pilots from other countries as a matter of principle because they cannot be seconded to the country's air force in the event of an emergency. This is a criterion to which no importance is attached in this country.

Federal Republic charter operators employ a fair number of foreign pilots. On 15 May Aviaction boasted eleven foreigners on a payroll of 29 pilots, Germanair 35 out of 104, Air Commerz twelve out of nineteen and Atlantis 56 out of 108.

The flight managers of many of these firms, the pilots' association claims, are themselves foreigners and tend to give preference to their fellow-countrymen rather than to Federal Republic pilots.

No one, the association hastens to add, has any intention of sacking foreign pilots out of hand. A number of them are members of the association and many of them played a major role in the reconstruction of civil aviation in this country in the post-war years.

The Federal Labour Institute, which used to subsidise pilot training schemes under the terms of the Careers Training Act, plans no longer to do so. A central aviation trades employent exchange is shortly to be set up in Frankfurt.

Last but not least the Ministry of Labour in Bonn is considering reintroducing compulsory work permits for foreign airline pilots, unemployment among pilots at present exceeding five per cent.

This is all well and good but it does not create new jobs on the home market. Time is working against the unemployed pilots too. Unless they log a certain number of flying hours over a three-year period they have to take their exams again before their licences are renewed.

Unless a generous employer agrees to foot the bill resitting examinations is going to cost unemployed pilots a considerable amount of money, and with airlines' budgets so strained the likelihood of prospective employers obliging would seem rather slender.

Klaus Müller

(Die Welt, 22 September 1972)

Commission favours joint planning for air and rail services

Why bother flying? To save time. These three syllables are the sole justification for civil aviation. All the other yardsticks of an efficient mode of transport, such as reliability, safety, regularity; puntuality, comfort and costs enabling fares to be charged that travellers can pay, are met by other transport systems. The only advantage that sets flying apart from ground transport is the speed and the time saved.

A saving of a few minutes in the air is not enough, industry feels. Over distances of 125 to 200 miles on the ground the saving must be at least an hour to an hour and a half in each direction, and proportionately more over twice or three times this distance.

Bearing in mind that as a general rule domestic flights seldom take less than an hour and a half, including the journey to and from airports and check-in procedure, and accepting the demand for flights to be at least an hour and a half faster than road or rail travel over the same distance, inter-city rail links taking two and a half to three hours either now or in the foreseeable future, inclusive of access time, render domestic flights on the same routes superfluous.

A large percentage of domestic, weekday, business air travellers opt for air rather than rail travel because, say, with 820 rail kilometres separating Hamburg and Munich they can fly there and back in one day and spend the entire day at the other end, arriving at their destiantion at 9.30 a.m. and flying home at, say, 8.30 p.m.

In addition to this category of business passenger there are a fair number of businessmen who prefer to fly because they can fly either there or back over lunch.

A glance at Lufthansa's domestic flight schedules is sufficient to indicate that over the past decade or so domestic flights have been so extended to cater almost ideally for these requirements. On all major north-south routes and cross-routes from the Rhine and the Ruhre to Hamburg there are convenient jet flights at the appropriate times.

Over the past five years less busy routes have been opened up and flown under charter from Lufthansa by regional operators. There are now time-saving services from, say, Saarbrücken to Munich and Düsseldorf and from Kiel to Frankfurt. There being fewer passengers smaller aircraft are used.

In spring 1970 the Federal Transport Ministry set up a commission to review domestic air travel and the commission has devoted careful study to the tasks performed and the prospects for domestic civil aviation.

The commission concludes that probably only a limited number of longer routes remain to be inaugurated and that in view of the high degree of saturation of this country's air space by civil and military aviation a great deal may depend on expansion of airport facilities.

The commission gratifyingly comes out in full support of joint planning of air and rail services within the country. Regular air services and inter-city expresses both have specific tasks to perform and provided they keep to their own fields they may both prosper.

Civil aviation is to be welcomed on domestic routes as long as it fulfils an economically useful role. It must compete fairly with rail transport and prestige considerations must be forgotten.

Costly investments must be forgone in instances where the railways are perfectly able to cater for transport requirements.

Hans Scharlach

(Das Parlament, 16 September 1972)

Helicopter rescue workers meet in Mainz

Last spring 72 people were trapped in a broken-down cabin of the Schilthorn cable railway near Mürren, Switzerland, helplessly suspended 787 feet above the ground.

The Swiss mountain rescue service, a branch of the Red Cross, sent up a helicopter the following day that rescued them in a dangerous venture that lasted two and a half hours.

The helicopter brought them down one by one. Without it there would have been virtually no hope of rescuing them.

In the course of an international conference on the uses to which aircraft can be put in rescue work two young Swiss staged a spectacular rescue operation in the grounds of Mainz University Hospital, demonstrating how they operate in the Alps.

A first aid man was perched on an aluminium plate suspended from the belly of a helicopter on a twenty-foot hawser. The helicopter flew to the roof of an eight-storey building where an "injured" man was fastened in a net and the two men, still suspended from the belly of the helicopter, returned to the ground.

Once, when the helicopter rescue service was first introduced, the pilot stated, a first aid man had fallen to his death because he had forgotten to fasten his safety belt to the hawser.

The rescued persons were not afraid of being suspended in mid-air, he added. After the cold, anxiety and pain they were only too happy that someone had come to their assistance.

The Swiss were not alone in staging mock rescue operations and showing films and slides at Mainz to demonstrate the possibilities of using helicopters in rescue work.

The fleet air arm engaged in air-sea rescue work off the coasts of the Federal Republic have saved some 1,300 lives since 1959. Over the past ten years the armed forces' air-sea rescue patrols have flown 8,000 sorties in search of shipwrecked civilians.

Regardless whether used in the inaccessible Alps or on trunk roads in this country the helicopter ensures swift first aid to the injured by skilled medical personnel using the latest in emergency medical equipment. It is also the fastest and smoothest means of transporting accident victims.

A Swiss specialist claimed that every emergency patient at all capable of being transported could be conveyed by helicopter. A Bavarian doctor specialising in accident work has determined with the aid of oscillation measurements that the spinally injured can frequently be transported so much more safely by helicopter than by ambulance that it can mean the difference between life and death.

A further advantage is that the sick or injured persons can be flown straight to the hospital that is best equipped to cater for their requirements.

In the discussions between anaesthetists (most emergency doctors are anaesthetists), pilots, helicopter designers and rescue specialists in Mainz it was pointed out time and time again that helicopters can only be put to meaningful use provided ground rescue facilities are adequate.

The helicopter is a useful addition to conventional rescue facilities but cannot, in view of flight and visibility regulations, be used in every case.

Organisational improvements also need to be made in the aerial rescue service. Communications, equipment, medical training, hospital landing facilities, responsibilities, legal provisions and aircraft design all warrant improvement.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 6 October 1972)

■ THINGS WRITTEN

This year's Frankfurt Book Fair – the biggest ever

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

This year's International Book Fair in Frankfurt – the 24th – was the biggest ever. More publishing houses were represented than in 1971 and the number of books exhibited was also higher. A total of 3,683 publishers from 57 countries presented some 250,000 books, 78,000 of them new publications.

Non-fiction continues to rule the roost. Books on history, politics, science, research, religion, sex, air piracy and conservation provide evidence of the demand for interpretations of present-day events and represent an attempt to spotlight at least some aspects of the current scene that may have been swamped by the flood of information available.

Literature responds in various ways to this loss of reality. Trivial literature depicts reality uncritically as colportage. Its heroes are painted in black and white. Daemonic villains appear alongside helpless maidens, evil spies and good, clean-living people.

This literature is condemned to success as it confirms the reader's prejudices by depicting politics, society and the environment as inevitably governed by fate. Nothing can be changed, it preaches. Many publishers encourage this trend by re-issuing Courths-Mahler novels and other symphonies to fate written in an era of lachrymose emotion.

Nostalgia, the longing for the good old days, can always be counted upon to sell. Books on the events of yesterday are the latest craze, mirroring current trends in the cinema and theatre.

Books, some of them splendidly-illustrated, feature the Hohenzollerns, the roaring twenties, Vienna under the Habsburgs, the first railways, pioneer aircraft, veteran cars or old steamers. There are also Peter Bamm's memoirs *Eines Menschen Zeit* (One Man's Era).

But this withdrawal into the past is also a sign of the fear and insecurity found in an anonymous environment where everything is governed by planning. It demonstrates the need for a link between the past and the present, between time and space. It may also reveal the longing for beauty that is not only functional but completely divorced from any ulterior motive.

The increasing architectural criticisms about the dreariness of our towns and the rediscovery of previously-despised styles such as art nouveau fit into this general scheme of things.

A second era of Romanticism is evidently approaching. Films now being made in this country are reminiscent of the old-style *Heimatfilm*, the theatre has rediscovered the Sturm und Drang poet Lenz and the art at this year's "documenta" in Kassel confirms the trend.

The literature that counts reacts differently to the changed situation. As the bourgeois world order has decayed, the bourgeois novels must also disappear along with the omniscient authors and their heroes swayed by fate between guilt and repentance.

No system of thought can cope any longer with the mass of psychological, scientific, political and sociological information shattering old beliefs. Language can no longer cope with reality, therefore. Literature, with its old methods and old vocabulary, became dubious both to itself and to its readers.

In 1968 – by then Heinrich Böll, Günter Grass and Siegfried Lenz had finally written off the past as a central feature in post-war German literature – came literature's Ash Wednesday.

Hans Magnus Enzensberger published literature's obituary in the now historic fifteenth issue of his *Kursbuch*. Men of letters took refuge in action. Literature, benumbed, committed public harakiri. Enzensberger is still writing today – about what he calls the short summer of anarchy.

The past has been bid farewell, as has revolution. Günter Grass' *Aus dem Tagebuch einer Schnecke* (Snail's Diary) is typical. He may look back in anger and grief but there is no rampant nostalgia. He is carefully summing up the past, prompting discussions for the present and planning for the future.

Dieter Wellershoff's *Einladung an alle* (Everyone's Invited) also seeks reality. An authentic criminal case is painstakingly investigated. Its target is the superficial television screen authenticity of crime series.

Another example is Peter Handke in his report on his mother's suicide *Wunschloses Unglück* (Unrepining Calamity). It deals with the fate of a woman, it is an individual case but it is at the same time a part of contemporary history as it presents a typical life-story.



A view of the 1972 Book Fair in Frankfurt (Photo: dpa)

The book represents more than the memoirs and biographies of tenors, pianists, quizmasters, television stars, chefs and bird imitators that all revolve around one person and that are all written with a view to becoming a bestseller. But these books too are evidence of the search for the lost ego.

Hans Erich Nossack in his new novel *Die gestohlene Melodie* (Stolen Melody) and Nicolas Born in his anthology *Das Auge des Entdeckers* (Discoverer's Eye) play blindman's buff with reality, dashing out words about the world and its truths.

This is literature that does not permit itself to be tied to a programme, that does not hand out cheap platitudes to its readers and that obeys its own laws. It is opposed to the ideology of functionalism and the pressurised industrial society.

Literature is no longer fiction or fabricated stories but reports, inquiries, interrogations, investigations, research. Reality is no longer an already existent and directly described factor but a commodity which literature and science must first trace, catalogue and analyse.

The difference is that science aims for abstract results which are as comprehensive as possible. Literature fills these formulae with content, applies them to Man and studies the contradictions of these results and their possible consequences in practice. Readers are invited to think along.

Literature no longer confirms facts to stop readers getting a bad conscience. Literature no longer sings its readers to sleep. It is allergic towards the usual half-truths found in the trade and digs deeper in an attempt to find the truth. The diagnosis it makes is not very consolatory but people protesting against the conditions to which they are subject do not tend to put things in a good light.

The 1972 Frankfurt Book Fair confirms that literature has grown reconciled to itself – poetry has become reconciled with politics. The rest is writing.

Armin Halstenberg

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 4 October 1972)

New Berlin Festival organiser appointed

Dr Ulrich Eckhardt has been nominated as the new chief organiser of the Berlin Festival committee as successor to Walter Schmieding. Dr Eckhardt, 37, was previously the cultural affairs adviser in Bonn where he organised many artistic activities of varying kinds such as the Bonn Summer, Beethoven Festival, the Max Reger Festival and the programme of boulevard art. Dr Eckhardt was chosen from 28 applicants.

(Die Welt, 3 October 1972)

Frankfurt – the market for selling and buying rights

Publishers visiting this year's Frankfurt Book Fair described it as quiet and subjective without any trace of turbulence. Work dominated activities. The international book trade has for the first time explored new methods of co-production and licensing.

The Fair, the meeting-place of publishers, writers and booksellers, is well acquainted with the exchange of publishing rights, manuscripts and titles within this magic triangle.

The predominance of Anglo-American licences in the non-fiction sector has been challenged for the first time. Prominent publishing houses report that they have sold rights for the co-production of books on management, marketing and data processing.

Although Eastern bloc publishing houses hesitate about obtaining publishing rights in the West, despite the easing of the political situation, and rely on the German Democratic Republic where German literature is concerned, Czechoslovakia and Hungary have shown more interest in management techniques in the Federal Republic. This country's non-fiction writers have now caught up on the lead the Anglo-Americans once used to hold in this field.

Frankfurt's Book Fair is not intended as a retail fair but as a place for contacts that may lead to future orders. But the 3,683 publishing companies from 58 countries can look back on some successful transactions.

Less attention was paid to the growing trend towards concentration in the publishing world, usually a favourite topic at Frankfurt Book Fairs. Large publishing houses such as Bertelsmann and Gruner & Jahr lifted the veil a little even before the Fair began by defending retail price maintenance on books as stubbornly as in previous years. They claim it also keeps prices down, ruling out any increases.

A much more welcome fact illustrated by the Fair was that these large publishing houses have caught up with Anglo-American or Italian publishers such as Mondadori.

A total of 247,000 titles were available at this year's fair compared with last year's figure of 241,000. Publishers claim that the business in cultural books was particularly good and that it is not only paperbacks that far exceeded last year's sales figures.

Booksellers are hoping for a good Christmas and have bought more books than at past book fairs in Frankfurt. Publishers used to claim that the orders they were given did little more than cover the costs of their stands, if that, but this year booksellers have placed orders of between 50 and 10,000 Marks.

The price increases of about seven per cent at the start of the year have been absorbed by the retail trade, especially as the situation should remain calm until after Christmas. It is not until January that a new price increase of at least this magnitude once again threatens the market. Prices will not rise much higher in the field of fiction. Publishers do not want to charge more than thirty Marks a book for psychological reasons.

In 1971 the Federal Republic exported 618.9 million Marks' worth of books and publications, importing only 222.67 million Marks' worth. But this year's Book Fair has helped reduce this surplus.

Israel in particular was eager to sell rights for fiction, non-fiction and art books and obtain printing orders. Publishing concerns in the Federal Republic were encouraged to cut their production costs by taking advantage of the highly-efficient printing techniques and cheaper printing costs in Israel.

Savings amount to anything between 25 and 30 per cent. Israel's printing houses want large orders and can print books in ten to twelve languages. The interest from abroad is described as above-average.

It is hard to quote any figures for the amount of business done at the Frankfurt Book Fair. The money involved in the licensing and co-production business runs to millions of Marks.

Adding the total turnover, including that of foreign publishers, especially those from America and the other Common Market countries, transactions must amount to milliards of Marks. Both the exhibitors and the interested public – last year 122,000 people visited the Frankfurt Book Fair, the largest of its type in the world – can look optimistically to the future of the publishing trade.

Felix Schneider

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 3 October 1972)

■ THE ARTS

Cologne art dealers stick to the tried and tested

If the state of art today were to be read from the trade level in *objets d'art* there would be no denying that everything in the garden was rosy. Along the banks of the Rhine particularly art dealers have no grounds for complaint. In Cologne above all works of art are changing hands at such a rate that art shop owners are groaning under the burden of work.

Shortly before *documenta* opened they went to great expense to put on the Cologne Art Festival. Now Kassel and Cologne provide twin attractions – *documenta 5* has not yet finished and the "6th Cologne Art Market" has begun. Before this finishes there will be further competition not far away with Düsseldorf's International Art and Information Fair (IKI).

Thus there will be a return to the traditional friendly rivalry between the two Rhineland neighbours which was laid to rest amid much hullaballoo recently at the joint *Westdeutsche Kunstmesse*.

The only astonishing factor is the nonchalance with which the art market and its organisers are looking forward to the massive IKI enterprise. Those art dealers who like to think of themselves as "progressives" must, one would have thought, attempt to counteract the effects of the competition provided by the Düsseldorf Fair, which will have the advantage of novelty value on its side.

But they are doing nothing of the sort. Going round Cologne's Kunsthalle one is confronted with the good old favourites such as the traditional tableau, which has been pronounced dead and buried time and again, yet still takes its usual place over a broad front.

Classicists and *arrivés* of the sixties dominate the scene, the A to zed of Albers and Zadkin with the inevitable Franz Marc and Max Ernst, Lichtenstein and Warhol, Hamilton, Kanovitz and Pearlstein.

It seems that now the chips are down the "progressives" are staking their money on quality rather than untested and unreliable novelty. Perhaps this means that a great heap of rubbish along with the red-bristled broom of Joseph Beuys will be declared unsaleable from the outset. Generally speaking handsome prices are being asked and it is expected that they will be paid. Only time will tell if and how far this will be so.

This report was written on the first day, at which time business was quite quiet. One striking factor is that certain sectors, vaunted as a novelty and attraction for the "small collector" which have been flooding the market in recent years are now being neglected again. New emphasis is being laid on drawings, a medium which can benefit greatly from the new Realism.

It is possible that collectors in this country have come to the reasonable conclusion that a European original – even if it is "only" a drawing – at a bargain price is a better buy than an over-priced American painting. This could also explain the other development noted on the opening day, namely that foreigners are dominating the (Cologne) market more than ever.

Young artists hold their own art mart in Cologne (Photo: dpa)

The reason for this is not entirely to be found in the increasing participation of foreign galleries. And the proportion of American works involved in the increasing foreign participation is noticeably declining. Obviously art dealers in this country cannot or do not wish to meet the prices being demanded by the Americans.

Thus European art is getting a new boost and ZERO is enjoying a glorious renaissance via Paris. The white ZERO-space by Denise René is perhaps the most beautiful of the whole Cologne art market.

The most original collection is offered by Müller Gallery which has gone against the general trend by presenting a new name, Briton Robin Page, and him alone with a rich collection of his highly imaginative, witty and varied works.

Simultaneously at the neighbouring Neumarkt under municipal aegis there is the "Neumarkt der Künstler" with works that have not had to pass a jury's inspection. Unfortunately this also has nothing new to offer, just a disordered collection of works showing keenness and amateurishness, naive kitsch, propaganda posters and clumsy (or occasionally clever and refined) copies of what can already be seen at the Kunsthalle opposite, better executed and better presented.

Eo Plunien

(Die Welt, 5 October 1972)

■ MEDICINE

Scientists discover new 'weapon' to fight leprosy

Frankfurter Rundschau

A research team from this country has invented a new weapon for the fight against leprosy, a disease that still goes unchecked. Patients in leprosy centres in Africa and on the island of Malta were treated with a combination of drugs designed to kill the carrier instead of with the usual DDS which only inhibits the growth and reproduction of the mycobacteria that cause the disease.

The new intensive combination therapy was developed during a series of experiments conducted at the research institute in Borstel, near Bad Segeberg, under the direction of Professor Enno Freerksen.

The centre used mycobacteria producing the same sort of symptoms in mice as in a human leper. Scientists there were able to test substances meant specifically to fight leprosy and other diseases caused by mycobacteria.

Six or seven substances were thought suitable for combination therapy. Armed with these, doctors resumed the struggle against a disease which probably affects fifteen million people today. This figure does not include the unrecorded cases which perhaps total about three million.

A series of slides shown at Hamburg University demonstrates the advantages of the new method. In some of the cases featured three months sufficed to cure the disfiguring symptoms caused by leprosy on the face and body of the leper. This followed years of unsuccessful treatment by traditional methods.

Few germs were to be found afterwards in tissue that had once been saturated with leprosy agents. Side-effects could easily be kept in check. Dr Richard Rohde of the Bisidimo leprosy centre in Harar, Ethiopia, and a member of the Borstel Institute, has been able to discharge some of the patients he used during experiments to test the intensive combination method on humans. They will be given regular medical examinations for the next few years to make sure the treatment has been completely successful and there is no relapse.

A leprosy extermination campaign started on Malta in June of this year is also being conducted along the lines suggested by the Borstel institute. Over two hundred cases are being treated, according to a report by Dr A. Agius-Ferrante.

This figure is being inflated at present by previously unregistered patients who were afraid to admit they had the disease but were encouraged to turn up at the centre after news about the success of the cure had gradually spread.

Researchers at the Borstel centre wanted to find a method that would cure lepers in the shortest possible time. Dr Rohde found this was vital during his work in Ethiopia. The leprosy patients, nearly all dependent on DDS alone, usually only have the opportunity of picking up their tablets at a station open for no more than a few hours once a fortnight. The station is often days away from the home of the patient.

Illiteracy, poverty, a lack of hygiene inadequate information about the nature of the disease and a fatalism incomprehensible to Western Europeans are all factors that make a speedy cure of leprosy desirable.

But Professor Freerksen is still cautious: "Although the results of treatment were excellent in many cases, nobody should expect miracles from the form of therapy we employ." Treatment is to be made more effective in future as there are still failures that cannot be explained.

Finally there is the problem of waste bacteria which build up in considerable quantities when the mycobacteria are killed. Although these bacteria are dead, they can prompt pathological tissue reactions. This is one of the problems which the organism of leprosy patients has to cope with on the path to recovery.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 29 September 1972)

Cruelty to animals legislation

Larger animals are better protected by the new animal cruelty laws than smaller ones. In principle, all animals ranging from the flea to the elephant have equal rights ("Nobody is allowed to cause an animal pain, suffering or damage for no sensible reason") but only those persons maltreating vertebrates will be punished.

The new law replaces legislation passed forty years ago and has the added advantage of being valid throughout the Federal Republic. The Bundestag changed Basic Law in order to give the central government the powers to pass legislation on animal cruelty. Amendments always failed in the past because of the question whether the central government or the Federal states had to pass the necessary laws.

What does the new legislation involve? First of all there is the question of animal experiments to which a lot of space is given. Here too there is a distinction between large and small animals. Only when experiments on snakes and frogs no longer serve the main purpose of a research project are tests on chimps and cats allowed.

As a role only those persons with a university education will be allowed to operate upon these animals. Operations must be restricted to the indispensable minimum, they must be registered and reported beforehand to the authorities if the animals could be caused pain, suffering or injury.

Vertebrates — including dogs and cats — may only be killed painlessly and by persons with the necessary training and ability. Abandoning animals or feeding them forcibly is banned, as is using them for films or advertising purposes if they suffer as a result.

It is forbidden to send animals cash on delivery, to dock a dog's ears when it is more than three months old and to sell animals to children under fourteen without the permission of their parents. Violations of the law can be punished by prison sentences of up to two years and fines of up to ten thousand Marks.

(Die Welt, 29 September 1972)

Antibiotics congress in Heligoland

Sulphonamides were first used to fight pathogenic bacteria in 1935 after Gerhard Domagk (1895—1964) discovered their bacteriostatic effect — their ability to stop the growth of bacteria.

Penicillin came on to the market during the Second World War though Alexander Fleming (1881—1955) discovered their bacteriocide effect — their ability to kill bacteria — as early as 1928.

Since then a constant battle has been waged against bacteria but they have not been annihilated for the simple reason that many of them have a beneficial effect. The number of pathogenic bacteria is small, as was pointed out at a scientific congress held on the North Sea island of Heligoland to discuss antibiotics.

But the discovery of antibiotics and sulphonamides has resulted in greater advances in the treatment of infectious diseases than ever before in the history of medicine.

Ampicillin has replaced the old-type penicillins as the most effect antibiotic substance. It has a success rate of almost one hundred per cent with diseases caused by pathogenic intestinal bacteria, sixty to seventy per cent with infections of the urethra caused by the dreaded coli bacteria and ninety per cent with complaints brought on by multiform Proteus bacteria which have hardly responded to antibiotics in the past.

Biochemists have in recent years unveiled all the mysteries about the way sulphonamides and antibiotics work. To build up their hereditary substance, bacteria need folic acid, without which no DNA or RNA can be formed. To build up their stock of folic acid, they need para-aminobenzo acid.

The sulphonamides' chemical molecule is so similar to para-aminobenzo acid that bacteria cannot differentiate between them. If bacteria are offered sulphonamides they will accept them. Bacteria are not harmed in any way but they cannot reproduce as no folic acid can be produced.

Antibiotics attack the extremely complicated chemical structure of the bacterial wall, having their greatest effect during reproduction when a large number of components are needed for building up new bacteria.

Antibiotics do not affect bacteria when they are not reproducing. Combining sulphonamides and antibiotics is senseless as sulphonamides inhibit bacterial growth and rob antibiotics of their operational basis.

Almost all penicillins and the more recently discovered antibiotics such as ampicillin and gentamycin are non-toxic and can be prescribed in large quantities.

One exception is chloramphenicol, an antibiotic first extracted from the fungus Streptomyces venezuela in 1944 by the Russian-born Jewish American Selman A. Waksman.

This antibiotic has a peculiar mechanism which Dr Plempel from the department of medical microbiology at the Bayer works in Wuppertal outlined at the congress on Heligoland.

Chloramphenicol inhibits the formation of important protein substances required by bacteria. Protein synthesis is the same in all living organism but it takes place far more quickly in bacteria because of their rapid multiplication.

Chloramphenicol can therefore only be prescribed in small doses (two grammes a day for a maximum of ten days) otherwise the protein synthesis of the patient's own cells is affected.

Friedrich Deich

(Die Welt, 25 September 1972)

Cancer research centre opened in Heidelberg

"The Federal Republic is the only country of comparable standard of living without a national cancer research centre," Professor Karl Heinrich Bauer, the doyen of German cancer research, stated some eight years ago. "Let us make up for this by building the most modern one in the world."

His dream has now materialised. The Federal Republic Cancer Research Centre has been opened on the new university site at Neuenheim, Heidelberg. It possesses its own atomic reactor, a heavy-duty computer, a central laboratory for animal experiments (equipped to house eighty thousand animals) and a glass-blowing workshop to manufacture its own equipment.

Specialists and politicians attending the official opening ceremony recently described the cancer research centre as an installation that should result in "future-looking and epoch-making progress in the fight against one of the worst and most malicious scourges of mankind".

The 1,109 rooms of the cancer research centre have a total volume of 220,000 cubic metres, twice as much as Heidelberg castle. The actually serviceable surface area amounts to 26,000 square metres. Building and equipping the centre cost some 150 million Marks.

Eight hundred people, including ancillary staff, will be employed at the centre initially. The wage bill will total about fifteen million Marks during the first year of operations. There is space for another four hundred employees and the number of staff will be increased as soon as the necessary money is available.

Costs are currently covered by the central government and Federal states under the Königstein Agreement. The research centre hopes to be recognised as a "large-scale research establishment" — the central government would then take over ninety per cent of the running costs. Until this happens, the research centre is having to let its spare rooms to various university departments.

The first plans for a central cancer research centre in this country were drawn up in 1955 by the Federal Republic Research Association and cancer researchers belonging the "Hinterzartener circle".

Negotiations were begun in 1957 with the University of Heidelberg which already possessed a Department of Experimental Cancer Research headed by the late Professor Lettré.

The central government in Bonn and the Baden-Württemberg Federal state government in Stuttgart gave the go-ahead and the first stage of work began in provisional accommodation eight years ago.

The official aim of the Cancer Research Centre is to investigate cancer diseases, their nature, their prevention and their cure. Seven largely autonomous departments have been set up to this end.

These departments deal with toxicology and chemotherapy, experimental pathology, biochemistry, cellular research, nuclear medicine and virus research. The department of documentation, information and statistics also has a coordinating function. An eighth department dealing with tumour genetics and immunisation is to start work in the next twelve months.

The cancer research centre started full-time work a number of weeks before the official opening in September. The opening ceremony was delayed for a very good reason — it was also meant as a mark of respect for Professor Bauer, the driving force behind the centre, who celebrated his 82nd birthday the same week.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 29 September 1972)



■ ANNIVERSARY

Physicist Max Planck died 25 years ago

Max Planck, one of the greatest scholars and scientific researchers of our times died at Göttingen University Hospital 25 years ago on 4 October 1947 at the age of 89.

Max Planck, professor emeritus of theoretical physics at Berlin University and honorary president of the Kaiser Wilhelm Society for the Promotion of the Sciences, was lain low by pneumonia for a number of weeks at the beginning of 1947.

But he quickly resumed his lecture tours through the ruins of the university towns. He wanted to set a shining example to young researchers by showing that work could and should go on.

His appearance at the Bonn Physical Institute at the end of March 1947 will never be forgotten by anyone attending this lecture. Supported by Walter Gerlach, the famous atomic researcher, Planck walked to the stage, sat down and hands a-tremble read his notes about the "purpose and limits of exact science" without once looking up.

This was the farewell performance of a man who was no more than a shadow of the past. The physical decay due to vertebral arthritis was already affecting him greatly.

His death suggests later parallels. Both Otto Hahn, his successor as president of the Max Planck Society, and his former pupil Lise Meitner died at the age of 89.

Planck was a little misunderstood by many of his contemporaries and even more so by posterity. He has been called a revolutionary who overthrew traditional physical thought.

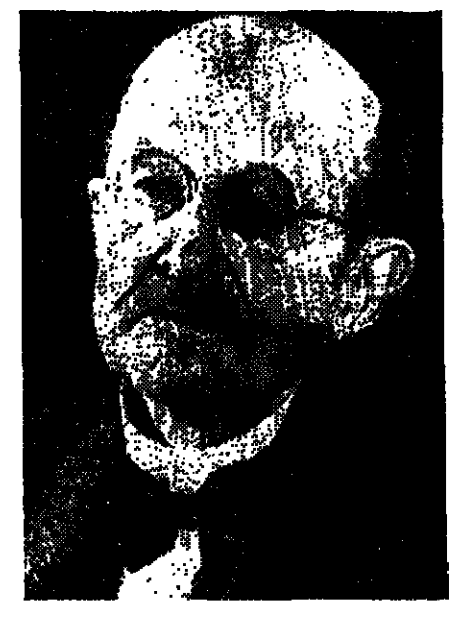
But he did no more than make a number of long-overdue and necessary corrections. Planck did no more than find a new universal constant of the dimension "energy multiplied by time" (="Effect"), the effect quantum "h".

His speech to the Berlin Physical Society on 14 December 1900 prompted months of discussion about the true interrelationship between heat and radiation.

But he hesitated about accepting the consequences of what he had expressed as a formula — that nature indulges in intermittent change. Contrary to previous belief, light and heat flowed in a stream of miniscule energy particles — the quanta.

Five years later Albert Einstein finally prompted the acceptance of Planck's quantum theory with his explanation of photographic effect. The much-discussed "h" proved indispensable in understanding and explaining the atomic world.

Planck received the 1918 Nobel Prize for Physics as a result of his epoch-making discovery and it was awarded to him in Stockholm in December 1919. He taught at Berlin University until 1927 and succeeded Adolf von Harnack as second president of the Kaiser Wilhelm Society in 1930, a post he held until 1937.



Max Planck
(Photo: Max-Planck-Gesellschaft)

As an upright and distinguished person with deep religious feelings, artistic talents and a critical conservative mentality, he automatically came into conflict with the nationalist rulers and their ideology.

He was attacked as a "white Jew", his son Erwin, a Prussian State Secretary, was executed at the beginning of 1945 for his part in the 20 July conspiracy. The Planck family's house in the Grunewald area of Berlin was gutted by bombs. Planck and his wife joined the flood of refugees when Germany collapsed, lost all his possessions and finally found a new home in Göttingen.

It is no coincidence that he is looked upon abroad as the highly-esteemed embodiment of an unbroken German scientific tradition.

Ernst H. Haux

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 3 October 1972)

Foundation aims to boost image

Last year the *Stifterverband für die deutsche Wissenschaft* provided a total of 18.4 million Marks for independent research projects. The lion's share — 12.7 million Marks — was awarded via the Research Association.

The Max Planck Society received 2.2. million Marks and the rest of the total went to the Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), the *Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes* and the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation.

The *Stifterverband* would like to improve its image by organising its own grant programmes and providing the stimulus for more research projects. Last year it appointed a working party to draw up a memorandum on the state of affairs of "the science of science" in the Federal Republic.

(Die Welt, 25 September 1972)

Scientists hope to tap nature

Researchers plan to extract important pharmaceutical substances from vegetable cell cultures in future as supplies of natural raw materials and drugs are gradually drying up and are often only seasonally available.

The Education and Science Ministry and a number of industrial concerns are therefore backing a number of research groups trying to develop methods to produce important natural substances such as digitalis and alkaloids through biosynthesis.

Scientists hope that new-style selection and breeding methods will enable them to extract reasonable quantities of important substances from mass cultures of suitable vegetable cells.

(PAM/Frankfurter Rundschau, 22 September 1972)

■ OUR WORLD

TV violence and its effect on the young

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

Pastor Hess, a director of Hesse Radio, calls the group of educationalists who are evaluating the tendencies to show brutality on television "body counters". South-West Radio director Hannerschmidt derided comments that most experts on aggression draw their conclusions on high-spirited behaviour of children from the school playground. Norddeutsche Radio explored this in a Panorama programme. And ZDF laconically reported that reflections made by Anglo-Saxon research workers were not applicable to the Federal Republic . . .

Are the investigations – undoubtedly quite recent – concerning the relationship between aggression and television so questionable? Nine scientists and thirty parents were invited to explore the problem by the magazine *Eltern*. And they came to the conclusion that the danger, so frequently considered harmless, has grown since the first alarming investigations were made.

This conclusion was arrived at after consideration of recent mass experiments, many independent of each other and never before made public.

With financial assistance from the Volkswagen Foundation Professor Heribert Heinrichs from Hildesheim, has made studies of 34 school children between the ages of eight and eleven. After five months of viewing normal television programmes which they greeted with comments such as "terrific" and "wonderful" they were shown programmes that included more and more brutality. Eighteen of the children were enthralled by what they saw. Sixteen lost interest in what they were watching.

At the end of the period of observation the group that had been subjected to television aggression had an aggression quota that was 111 per cent higher than that shown by the control group, the group that had only seen normal TV. Incidents of aggressive behaviour on the school playground increased by 11 per cent. They indulged in fouls whilst playing sport and played out exactly scenes of taking hostages and war games that they had seen on television.

But there was worse to come. It was confirmed that the children who had been subjected to an excessive amount of TV brutality manifested a dulled reaction to brutality and violence – physical injury and cruelty to animals. Indeed after a short time these children could not recall that the brutality they had watched was on television and they were prone to concluding this brutality was a part of everyday life. They could not see the difference between brutality on the television screen and brutality in real life. Professor Heinrichs commented: "The children who had been subjected to media brutality were less interested in school and their relations with their parents, brothers and sisters and other children at school became increasingly more conflict-laden."

Using four boys as guinea pigs – one of them Professor Heinrich's son – the effect of increased violence on television was observed. In a week the boys saw 93 acts of aggression. After a while the boys were always looking for a fight, they became shifty, they acted unfairly, were irritable. Sometimes they set upon a fellow schoolboy – the bully syndrome was obvious. The four wanted to watch television of this sort late into the night.

Professor Heinrichs said: "Media violence is like a passion that can only be excited by even stronger reactions. And it makes democracy and cooperation impossible. It is the most devastating means of negating ideas for living together peacefully."

Television authorities cannot for much longer disregard these views. They cannot say that experts contradict each other and that the facts concerning effects are uncertain.

Recent American surveys confirmed these views, and they go even further. Professor Robert M. Liebert, a psychologist at New York University, reports that there has been an increase in aggression of between 200 and 300 per cent among children who for eleven consecutive days watched television well peppered with violence.

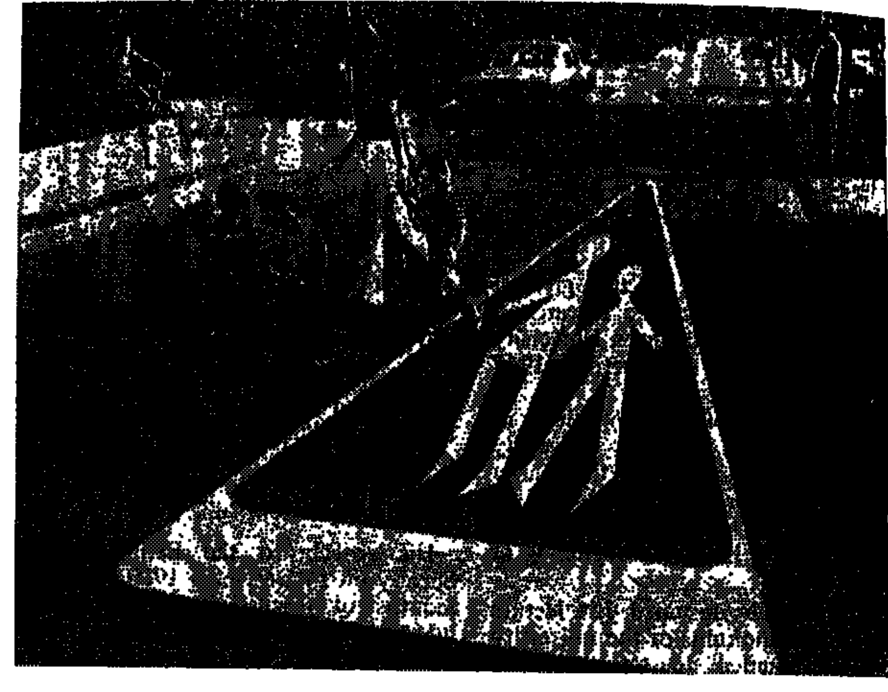
In another test 88 per cent of children between the ages of three and five who watched similar television violence developed aggressive attitudes and although they had a free choice they plumped for toys that had aggressive connotations.

When 434 nine- to twelve-year-olds were observed they tried to solve their problems by using force and they displayed rejection attitudes towards girls.

Professor Liebert prepared his material for the American Department of Health. Professor Liebert complained earlier this year that the published version of his work had been "toned down". He told all in Munich recently. He said: "We are now able to confirm without any shadow of doubt that scenes of violence on television if seen by children for a couple of hours or even for only a few minutes promote aggressive tendencies."

Professor Udo Undeutsch, an expert on youth affairs and a psychologist, dismissed the often heard view that aggression can be "laughed away." He was reviewing the new series for children *Porky Pig*.

Professor Undeutsch goes so far as to say in his lecture that the increase in violence in performances on television is responsible for increasing crime among children and young people.



Caution – children crossing

At three dangerous road junctions in Düsseldorf, North Rhine-Westphalia, the 'Caution – Children Crossing' road signs have been replaced by attractive unmistakeable representations of the international symbol painted on the road surface. It remains to be seen whether motorists pay any attention to the new markings that join the ranks of a myriad roadside signs. This, of course, is the reason for the experiment, which has the approval of the state Transport Minister, Horst-Ludwig Riemer. The 'Children Crossing' sign has been singled out because of the growing number of children involved in traffic accidents. If the new signs appear to induce motorists to drive more carefully other cities plan to follow in Düsseldorf's footsteps. (Photo: Archiv)

Between 1955 and 1970 there was an increase in this country of 728 per cent in the number of thefts committed by young people between the ages of ten and fourteen and the number of murders committed by 18- to 21-year-olds over the same period increased by 555 per cent.

How then is it possible to offer early and effective protection against this danger when most television officials do not take the hazard seriously and parents have no means of availing themselves of protection.

Professor Undeutsch recommends "psychic pollution protection" for children. Alphons Silbermann, a Cologne sociologist, recommends that television authorities should offer alternatives to the world of violence. Theodor Hellbrügge, a child doctor in Munich, pleads for parents to take great care what children see until they are four year old because in these early years the basis for social attitudes is established and this "can be disturbed by television".

Professors Heinrichs and Liebert have already made a start with alternatives on television. Professor Heinrichs has made a comprehensive analysis of third-year school programmes on television and has devised a "constructive, ethical example". Professor Liebert has worked in an infants school and has conducted similar surveys of aggressive, neutral and "pro social" children's programmes. After four weeks of watching programmes that were perhaps not technically perfect a positive change was noticed in behaviour, a more marked self-control.

Professor Liebert made an appeal "for more money to devise means of producing better television for children" to television officials. "We need television that shows not only brutality, but also human beings cooperating with one another mastering the problems of modern life. Unless something is done in twenty years' time we shall have sunken into barbarity". *Karl Stankiewitz*

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 2 October 1972)



Neuschwanstein Castle in marzipan

This model of Bavaria's picturesque Neuschwanstein Castle made entirely of marzipan by American pastry-cooks is one of the many attractions on show at the Frankfurt International Hotels and Catering Trades Fair. (Photo: AP)

Magazine for foreign workers

Walter Arendt, Labour Minister, introduced the first magazine to be specifically produced for foreign workers in this country at a press conference on 2 October in Bonn. The first issue was produced in six languages and 500,000 copies were printed. The magazine is called *AD* (Arbeitsplatz Deutschland) and will be distributed free of charge through offices and factories.

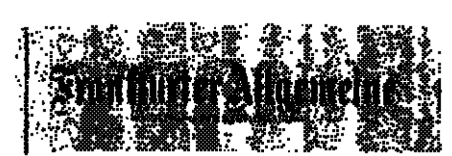
The half million copies have been produced for the 2.4 million foreign workers in this country. The copies produced per language edition is proportional to the national groups working in the Federal Republic.

The new magazine aims to inform *Gastarbeiter* of their rights and duties concerning jobs, social welfare and tax, when working in this country.

The magazine is published by the Labour Ministry with an advisory board supported by representatives from Federal Office for Labour, employers, trade unions, the central press office of the federal government and the labour office of North Rhine-Westphalia. (Die Welt, 3 October 1972)

■ SPORT

Developing countries clamour for sporting know-how



"If you are a success you really are someone," Artur Achenbach, who spent three years training the Burmese boxing team, recalls. He was. He was still in Burma to see his boys win seven out of eight gold medals at the South-East Asian Games. Had it not been for a cut brow they would have won the eighth too.

Cuba owes its boxers' success at the Munich Olympics to what could well be termed development aid, too, – Soviet trainers in its case.

Sports know-how as an export trade is flourishing, though probably not as well as the developing countries would like. But then, on closer examination even countries such as the Federal Republic have a good deal of ground to make good. Good trainers are in short supply here too.

Trainer academies are still on the drawing-board and schools everywhere lament the shortage of games masters and mistresses. Yet in Black Africa, Asia and South America a great many countries would dearly like to benefit from the experience gained by countries traditionally renowned for their sporting proficiency.

Governments are increasingly taking the export of sporting know-how into account. For historical reasons the French still have close contacts with Africa and their 147 sports specialists under contract in foreign countries represent the largest contingent.

The Soviet Union with roughly 100 coaches and trainers abroad and overseas comes next on the list; they are based in 37 African and South American countries.

The GDR has a mere five trainers based abroad but trains large numbers of athletes and trainers at the Leipzig Sports Academy. By way of comparison the United States has a mere eight trainers and coaches in Africa.

"This country has fourteen trainers abroad," Lorenz Becker of the National Olympic Committee notes in Munich at a dinner held on their behalf in the course of the Olympic Games. The fourteen coaches had returned to this country for the Olympics with their protégés.

"When you have got to know the mental make-up of your protégés," ex-Frankfurt boxer and Burmese boxing trainer Achenbach says, "when you have gained their confidence you really do feel that they need you."

Coaches sent out to Africa or Asia from Europe need a good year to get the hang of the mentality of the athletes their job it is to accustom to rational training methods.

"That," Becker says, "is why we generally try to negotiate longer contracts. As a rule a coach is under contract for two years. We feel this is not long enough because the results seldom begin to show in so short a period of time. There are also social reasons."

Contracts are fairly lucrative. A coach who goes abroad can expect to earn between 60,000 and 80,000 Marks a year, from which, of course, he has to pay his living-expenses.

In return, in Africa and Asia in particular, he is very much in the limelight and subject to criticism. "In Africa," Becker says, "there is nothing more political than sport, first and foremost football, boxing and field and track athletics.

"Sport is *the* sector in which countries can make a name for themselves. That is why Ministers and President even take an interest in sport and the work their rainers put in."

At the finals of the African Football Cup in The Cameroons the Minister of Education ordered coach Peter Schnittger to send a substitute on to replace a certain player. Schnittger refused.

When the team lost the country's football coach from this country was very nearly given the sack. Only the intervention of the head of state saved him from ignominious dismissal.

Trainer Burghard Pape it was who arranged an interview with President Amin of Uganda for the Federal Republic ambassador. Pape trains the Ugandan football team and his wife Bärbel has pioneered women's handball and swimming in Central Africa.

Pape is on such good terms with the President that after fruitless requests for an audience the ambassador asked him to put in a good word. Hours later the ambassador got his interview with the head of state.

The Federal Republic ambassador in Burma called successful boxing coach Achenbach the man who was this country's real ambassador in Burma. In a country that is orientated towards the Eastern Bloc Achenbach was the man with the better contacts, including ties with his Soviet and GDR opposite numbers.

The powers that be are slowly beginning to realise how important sport is in many developing countries and what a key role it plays in the eyes of the general public.

A successful trainer is a popular figure in these countries, and he is a popular with politicians and government officials as he is with the man in the street. Should he fail to be a success the coach will be subject to no-holds-barred press criticism.

This is why skilled personnel and sound personalities are needed to do the job. Mistakes have been made in the past in this as in any other development aid sector and an inter-Ministerial committee has been set up to eleminate the most serious sources of error.

Organised sport, as represented by the National Olympic Committee, has a say in appointments to overseas posts by virtue of its membership of this body, the intention also being to avoid repetition of mistakes such as the classic case in which a trampoline trainer was despatched to Africa, where organised gymnastics on, say, the horizontal bars and other classic equipment is unheard-of.

"In the past," Becker says, "men were sent abroad who were not always suited for the appointment." The National Olympic Committee has in the meantime compiled a short list of 66 potential coaches for overseas development work.

Either the Federal government approaches the NOC or foreign sports associations approach NOC representatives Tröger and Becker, who then help the trainer on their books to negotiate the terms of a contract.

In addition to men officially sent out as sports coaches there are people such as Frankfurt teacher Kurt Coerdten, who while teaching in the Cameroons has taken up coaching football referees in the Ivory Coast, Mali, Togo and Senegal. In return he refereed the final round of the African Cup.

One of the strongest contingents is that of national football trainers. Karl-Heinz Weigand trains the Mali team, Eckard Krautzun the Kenyan team (as a training college teacher he once played for Ceylon), Peter Schnittger the Cameroons team, until recently Karl-Heinz Marotzke the Nigerian team, Gottlieb Göller the Togo team and Burghard Pape the Ugandan team. The present trainer of the Nigerians is another coach from this country, Otto Westphal.

Former European boxing champion Wilhelm Höpner was the most successful African boxing trainer at the Munich Olympics, his Kenyan protégés winning one silver medal and two bronze.

Oddly enough, he is worst hit by the political situation in Bonn where the budget has yet to be passed. His contract is on the point of expiry and he has no idea whether he will be able to carry on.

Still, even he is better off than the former lay missionary from Aschaffenburg who was granted a football trainer's licence by Dettmar Cramer and coached the Burundi football team.

This poor fellow came to Munich alone, eight of his regular team having been shot in recent tribal troubles. Coaching abroad is thus interesting but not always lacking in danger. There are both health and political hazards. *Herbert Neumann*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 7 October 1972)



President Heinemann awarding a silver laurel leaf to high-jump gold medallist Ulrike Meyfarth, the sixteen-year-old surprise winner from Cologne. (Photo: AP)

Heinemann honours Olympic athletes

At a reception held in Bonn on 9 October for members of this country's Olympic team who reached the finals of their event President Gustav Heinemann called on Federal Republic athletes and sports organisations to play their part in ensuring that future Olympic Games can take place in a peaceful world.

"Were we to opt out of future Games for reasons of justified outrage," the President noted in connection with the terroist attack on the Israeli team at Munich, "we would be bearing witness to precious little courage and the abandonment of hope."

The time that elapsed since the event had, so Dr Heinemann said, done nothing to mitigate the bitterness of the experience. How suddenly delight and cheer had been transformed into horror and sorrow!

Memories of Munich 1972 will always retain two sides: the cheerful, friendly atmosphere of the first week and the outrage and dismay that followed in the wake of the terrorist attack.

All that remained, the President commented, was the realisation that in this day and age there is nowhere that is safe from the storms that shake the world.

"Untroubled, cheerful, happy Olympic Games will not be held again," Dr Heinemann added, "until such time as the waves of hatred and wilful destruction have been calmed."

"The Olympic peace can only spread abroad under conditions rendered possible by a pacified world," the President told athletes and sporting officials.

The sporting achievements seen at the Games must not be forgotten, he continued. The participants' desire to give of their best had also characterised the Games.

As a token of acknowledgment President Heinemann presented the successful athletes with a laurel in silver, a photograph of himself framed in silver and autographed and a number of books.

He recalled the debt of gratitude owed to Willi Daume for organising the 1972 Summer Olympics. "You put in years of work on the Games," he told Herr Daume, "had to overcome a great deal of resistance, make concessions here and there and at times no doubt act against your better judgement."

Following their visit to the head of state the successful Olympic athletes were the guests of Chancellor Willy Brandt and his wife Rut. *Ernst-Dieter Schmickler*

(Neue Hannoversche Presse, 10 October 1972)

80,000 gymnasts at Stuttgart gala

Record participation is expected at the next Federal Republic Gymnastics Festival, to be held from 12 to 17 June 1973 in Stuttgart. A survey reveals that 66,102 male and female gymnasts intend to take part.

The organisers reckon that this figure will be exceeded by roughly twenty per cent. Five thousand participants are expected to come from Austria and Switzerland and a total of 80,000 visitors are being catered for.

The survey reveals that 46,809 gymnasts are interests in taking part in combined events; 21,081 young people aged eighteen and under will be among their number.

Nearly 10,000 gymnasts aged between nineteen and forty will be taking part in the championship events; 5,371 women gymnasts will represent the same age group.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 7 October 1972)